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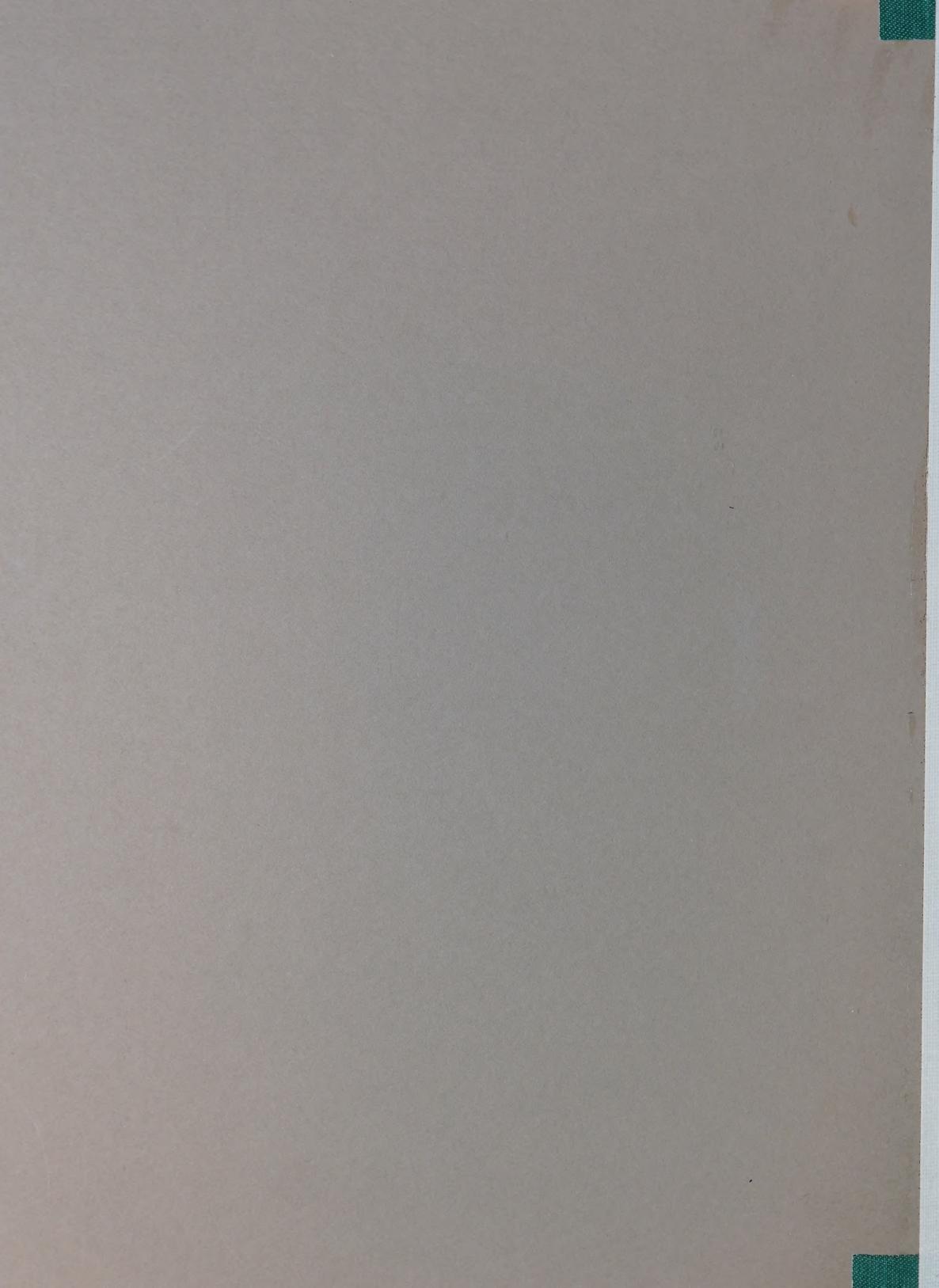
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[6-12] A PRELIMINARY REPORT  
OF  
RURAL POVERTY  
IN  
FOUR SELECTED AREAS

UN RAPPORT PRÉLIMINAIRE  
SUR  
LA PAUVRETÉ RURALE  
DANS  
QUATRE RÉGIONS CHOISIES



Highlights of a Study prepared for ARDA by The Canadian Welfare Council, Ottawa, 1965

Faits saillants d'une étude préparée pour l'ARDA par le Conseil canadien du Bien-Être, Ottawa, 1965

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1965



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## PART I

### INTRODUCTION

This report is based on a study undertaken by the Canadian Welfare Council for ARDA (Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Agency), Canada Department of Forestry. The study was conducted to provide case studies of poor rural families which would give illustrations of what poverty is for some of those who live in it, to sketch "le visage de la pauvreté."

Additional objectives of the study were to provide information about:

1. the economic and social opportunities and limits within which poor families live in rural areas of Canada;
2. the ways in which members of poor families perceive their opportunities and limits;
3. the decisions and actions they take with respect to them.

It was also expected that the study would contribute:

4. to the formulation of criteria regarding the social situations and behaviour of poor families, which would assist policy choices between encouraging mobility or local development and suggest critical points of intervention;
5. and to the search for ways of conceptualizing poverty, which would assist in dealing with problems in urban areas so that policies adopted to deal with rural poverty (such as migration) would not simply contribute to further complicating the national problem and the problems of individual poor people.

The present report is confined to the first objective of the study, that of presenting an image of poverty as seen in the four regions covered.

Copies of the four regional reports are available from the Canadian Welfare Council for limited distribution to professional workers and to students. The various aspects of the study procedure and method will be indicated only briefly here. In view of the limited amount of actual case material published on Canadian data, it was considered important to have a preliminary report available as early as possible.

Four rural areas were chosen as locales for the study: Inverness County (Nova Scotia); Gatineau, Papineau and Pontiac Counties (Quebec); Lanark County (Ontario); and the Interlake area (Manitoba). The choice of these particular locations was made (a) on the basis of the ARDA indices of disadvantaged areas and (b) to include major Canadian groups. All of these areas were rated as disadvantaged on such characteristics as income, educational level, infant mortality rates and living conveniences. Acadians and Scots are represented in Inverness County. Gatineau, Papineau and Pontiac Counties are predominantly French in origin, while Lanark County is largely British. In the Interlake, relatively recent immigrants from many European countries outnumber both native Indians and the British.

The study was directed and co ordinated by David E. Woodsworth, Research Director of the Canadian Welfare Council. Four regional directors conducted field work, and wrote up reports for their regions. Mr. Lloyd Lenton of the Winnipeg Community Welfare Planning Council was the regional director in Manitoba. In Ontario, Dr. Bessie Touzel, former

Executive Director of the Ontario Welfare Council directed the Lanark county work. Dr. Marie Hamel, Executive Secretary of the French Commission, Canadian Welfare Council acted as regional director for the western Quebec counties. In Inverness County, the regional director was Mr. George Caldwell, Associate Secretary of the Family and Child Welfare Division, Canadian Welfare Council.

Interviewers were recruited in each area by the regional directors. These were mainly social welfare agency personnel and many of them were trained social workers. In conducting their field work and obtaining interviews, these workers were identified as representatives of the Canadian Welfare Council's study and area assignments were arranged to avoid possible identification as welfare department personnel. A brief training period was provided to familiarize the workers with the purpose of the study and with the schedule used.

Within each of the four regions, a set of rural families was chosen on a reputational basis. This method consisted of asking local community leaders and other key informants to name those families who were considered to be poor. Utilization of the reputational method of deriving a sample was seen as consistent with the concept of relative deprivation in defining poverty. Inasmuch as the areas selected had been rated disadvantaged on statistical criteria, families designated as poor by local community leaders might reasonably be studied in an effort to understand something of

their lives.

The limitations of the method include such factors as lack of knowledge on the part of community informants, unwillingness to have outsiders look at their community at its worst, and lack of any standards of comparison. Poverty, as it was conceived in this study, consists at least in part of the judgements of relative status held by others about a family and by the family about themselves. In the time allotted, only a small number of interviews were possible. The method used seemed best suited to the circumstances of the study.

Community leaders and informants were interviewed by regional directors. Those interviewed in selecting the sample included storekeepers, postmasters, businessmen, clergy, municipal councillors, Health and Welfare Department officers and persons in leadership positions in voluntary agencies. The families surveyed were all residents in rural areas -- that is open-country residents with a few exceptions. The number of families named by this procedure was used as the basis for selecting about 80 families per area for interviewing. In making the choice of inclusions, regional directors were guided by the pragmatic necessity of being able to interview the people in the time allowed and by an attempt not to have the survey loaded with a particular type of family, e.g., welfare cases. Those chosen for inclusion in the study, in the estimation of the regional directors, represented a range of the suggested families illustrating varying degrees of

poverty rather than placing emphasis only on the destitute.

Very briefly, the foregoing paragraphs serve as background to this preliminary report. Highlights from the four regional reports together with some of the interview reports will be presented. The aim here is to present a description of those aspects of poverty found in the four regions studied. This preliminary report is not so much concerned with the unique features of any given area, as with those characteristics common to all four areas. The aspects described are based on the questions asked by the interviewers and on their impressions as recorded in their write-ups. As noted previously, the Director and the Regional Directors of this study are persons of wide experience in the field of social welfare and it is believed that their observations are relevant to describing poverty in this context.

In the main this report is written in English. Dr. Hamel's report was written in French and the case study material from the Quebec counties is included here as written. In addition, a brief summary in French dealing with the main highlights has been incorporated with each part of this report. These are taken in the main from Dr. Marie Hamel's regional report, and are not translations of the English. They supplement the English text and it is hoped that the report may be read as a whole.

## AVANT-PROPOS

Le présent rapport se fonde sur une étude-sondage effectuée par le Conseil canadien du Bien-Être pour le compte de l'ARDA, organisme du ministère des Forêts voué à l'aménagement rural et à la remise en valeur des terres agricoles. Il s'agissait de relever les cas d'espèce de familles rurales pauvres, afin de mettre en relief ce que signifie la pauvreté pour ceux qui la subissent, en un mot, à esquisser "le visage de la pauvreté".

L'étude visait également la mise à jour de renseignements sur les aspects suivants:

1. les avantages économiques et sociaux, et les limites de la pauvreté dans laquelle vivent les familles pauvres dans les régions rurales du Canada;
2. les moyens par lesquels les membres des familles pauvres entrevoient ces avantages et ces limites;
3. les décisions qu'ils prennent et quels actes ils posent à cet égard.

On s'attendait aussi que l'étude permit de:

4. formuler des critères touchant la situation sociale et le comportement des familles pauvres, parmi lesquels il y aurait moyen de choisir, comme ligne de conduite, entre la migration ou l'aménagement sur place et de signaler les points critiques où s'impose une intervention quelconque;
5. chercher des moyens de se représenter la pauvreté, qui permettront d'aider à aborder les problèmes des régions urbaines de façon que toute mesure adoptée à l'encontre de la pauvreté rurale (telle la migration) ne vînt pas contribuer à compliquer davantage le problème au palier national et les problèmes de chaque pauvre en particulier.

Le présent rapport confine sa portée au premier objectif de l'étude, celui de présenter une image de la pauvreté observée dans les quatre régions. Les travailleurs sociaux et les étudiants qui désirent obtenir des exemplaires des quatre rapports originaux peuvent en faire la demande au Conseil canadien du Bien-Etre. Les divers aspects des méthodes suivies pour la conduite de l'étude-sondage ne seront qu'ébauchés ici. Etant donné qu'il n'a été publié jusqu'ici que peu d'éléments d'informations sur des cas réels d'espèce au Canada, il importait, que fût disponible dès que possible un rapport préliminaire.

On a donc choisi quatre régions rurales aux fins de l'étude: le comté d'Inverness (Nouvelle-Ecosse); les comtés de Gatineau, de Papineau et de Pontiac (Québec); le comté de Lanark (Ontario) et la région située entre les lacs (Manitoba). Le choix de ces régions, entre autres, repose a) d'abord sur les indices de l'ARDA quant aux régions désavantagées et b) aussi sur la nécessité d'incorporer dans l'étude des groupes importants de la population canadienne. On a donc considéré "désavantagées" toutes ces régions d'après des caractéristiques telles que: le revenu, le niveau d'instruction, le taux de mortalité infantile et le niveau de confort. Acadiens et Ecossais typifient le comté d'Inverness; la population du secteur Gatineau-Papineau-Pontiac est d'origine à prédominance française, celle du comté de Lanark d'origine en majeure partie britannique. La région entre les lacs compte une récente affluence d'immigrés venus de

plusieurs pays européens, et qui surpassé en nombre les ethnies déjà établies, soit les Indiens et les Britanniques.

Le directeur des recherches du Conseil canadien du Bien-<sup>Être</sup>, M. David E. Woodsworth, a dirigé et coordonné l'étude et quatre directeurs régionaux ont assumé la conduite du travail sur les lieux, pour ensuite agencer le tout sous forme de rapports régionaux. M. Lloyd Lenton, du Winnipeg Community Welfare Planning Council, était le directeur régional au Manitoba; en Ontario, M<sup>lle</sup> Bessie Touzel, autrefois directrice générale du Conseil de Bien-<sup>Être</sup> de l'Ontario, s'est chargée du travail dans le comté de Lanark. M<sup>lle</sup> Marie Hamel, secrétaire administrative des services français du Conseil canadien du Bien-<sup>Être</sup> a assumé la direction pour les comtés de l'ouest du Québec, tandis que dans le comté d'Inverness, le directeur régional était M. George Caldwell, secrétaire associé de la Division de la famille et de l'enfance du Conseil canadien de Bien-<sup>Être</sup>.

Recrutés au sein de chaque région par les soins des directeurs régionaux, les intervieweurs faisaient presque tous parties du personnel d'organismes de bienfaisance et plusieurs d'entre eux étaient des travailleurs sociaux de profession. Pour effectuer leurs enquêtes et solliciter des entrevues, ces personnes compétentes se présentaient à titre de délégués du Conseil canadien du Bien-<sup>Être</sup>. Leur champ d'action respectif fut réglé de façon à éviter que l'on puisse rattacher les

intervieweurs au personnel du service social dont ils relevaient. Une  
brève période de formation a permis aux intervieweurs de s'initier aux  
objectifs de l'étude et au plan d'exécution du travail.

Il s'agissait de choisir, au sein de chaque région, un groupe de familles rurales repérées selon le critère dit "de réputation", en vertu duquel "on s'est efforcé de découvrir qui est pauvre" d'après les dires des notables et dirigeants de la collectivité. L'usage de la méthode d'échantillonnage fondée sur le critère dit "de réputation" a paru assortie au concept qui veut que la pauvreté se définisse par un état de privation relative. Comme les régions choisies avaient été systématiquement désignées comme régions désavantagées selon un critère d'ordre statistique, il convenait que l'on se penche sur les familles que les chefs de la communauté désignaient comme familles pauvres.

La méthode adoptée présente certain inconvénients: le manque de connaissances des informateurs de l'endroit, la répugnance des gens à laisser voir leur localité sous son plus mauvais jour, et enfin le manque de normes de comparaison. De l'avis de M. Woodsworth, la pauvreté telle que nous la concevons, tient en partie du jugement d'autrui quant au statut social relatif d'une famille donnée et tient aussi de la façon dont cette famille se juge elle-même. Dans l'intervalle de temps réservé à l'étude-sondage, on ne pouvait réaliser qu'un petit nombre d'entrevues; aussi, la méthode suivie en l'occurrence semblait-elle la plus appropriée.

Les directeurs régionaux ont d'abord interviewé les chefs de file de la communauté, les interviewés se recrutant parmi les marchands, les maîtres de poste, les hommes d'affaires, le clergé, le conseil municipal,

les agents du ministère de la Santé et du Bien-<sup>Être</sup> social et des personnes à la direction des œuvres bénévoles. Les familles interviewées habitaient toutes en milieu rural, à quelques exceptions près. Le nombre de familles englobées selon ce procédé a servi de base au choix des quelque 80 familles à interviewer, les directeurs se guidant pour cela sur la nécessité d'ordre pratique de pouvoir effectivement interviewer les personnes qu'il fallait dans le laps de temps réservé à cette fin. Ils ont aussi recherché à ne pas surcharger l'enquête de cas-types de familles de même genre, à savoir, de bénéficiaires d'assistance sociale. De l'avis des directeurs régionaux, les familles admises à l'échantillonnage représentaient un éventail de familles pouvant illustrer, à divers degrés, l'état de pauvreté, plutôt qu'un même groupe de familles indigentes.

Bref, ce qui précède sert de base au rapport préliminaire.

Suivront les faits saillants puisés à même les quatre rapports régionaux, avec à l'appui certains des cas d'espèce, ceci afin de présenter une description des aspects de la pauvreté observés dans les quatre régions à l'étude. Le rapport ne s'intéresse pas aux particularités propres à une région donnée, mais à celles qui sont communes aux quatre régions. Les particularités décrites se fondent tant sur les réponses aux questions des intervieweurs que sur leurs propres impressions, qu'ils ont consignées dans leurs rapports. Comme on l'a déjà signalé, le directeur et les directeurs régionaux de l'étude sont tous des personnes possédant une

vaste expérience en matière de bien-être; on est d'avis que leurs observations sont pertinentes à la description de la pauvreté selon la norme établie.

Le gros du présent rapport en question a été rédigé en anglais. Le rapport de M<sup>lle</sup> Hamel et les textes concernant des cas d'espèce émanant des comtés québécois ont été rédigés en français. En outre, un court résumé en français, ayant trait aux faits saillants a été incorporé à chaque partie du présent rapport. Tirés pour la plupart du rapport régional de M<sup>lle</sup> Marie Hamel, ces derniers ne sont donc pas traduits de l'anglais, mais complémentent l'exposé en anglais.

## PART II

### DESCRIPTION OF FINDINGS

#### A. DEFINITION OF POVERTY

For the purposes of this study, poverty was said to exist as a condition of relative deprivation exhibited by rural families selected by community leaders. Various problems were experienced in making the selection. Some of the community leaders were reluctant at first to admit knowing any poverty-stricken families. In all four regions studied the community leaders had difficulty in defining what they meant by poverty. It was also evident that poverty does not have the same meaning for those who look on it as for those who live in it.

The Inverness regional director notes that the community leaders had difficulty around the meaning of poverty, relating the relative contentment of the poor family in such terms as "they may not have much money, but they don't seem to need it." They regarded as quite different the economic needs of rural families and urban families. "At times one sensed a wistfulness on the part of some community leaders that time would stop and we could all return to the placid, much less complicated, rustic type of living and economy." Those leaders who were not directly involved in providing welfare services were often in conflict about who was poor. The factors contributing to their perception of who was poor, were

inadequate housing, size of family, old age, alcoholism, unemployment, mental illness or retardation, and disability or death of the father.

On the other hand, the families themselves did not have this problem. Mr. Caldwell notes that the poor obviously know the poor. The confidentiality that is so sacred in the middle class, in regard to earnings and family troubles, was not found to be characteristic of the families interviewed. They knew one another's troubles and had discussed their financial problems. Lack of money was a unanimous reason for a family seeing another family as poor. Receipt of municipal welfare payments was regarded by the family as an absolute indication of poverty. Large families, unemployment and drinking were other reasons cited for their selection of another family as poor.

The regional directors of the studies in Gatineau, Papineau and Pontiac counties and in Interlake, both note that the community leaders conceived of poverty in a different manner than did the poor families themselves. The former saw it in its more general aspects, as an abstraction while the latter defined it in terms of their own personal situations or of that of their neighbours.

In the Interlake Area, two distinct points of view separated the poor from the community informants who provided the referrals. Thirty-nine per cent of the community leaders, as compared with thirteen per cent of the poor families who referred other families as poor, labelled the causes

of poverty as the result of the personal deficiencies of the poor. Poverty was frequently attributed by community leaders to alcohol, mismanagement, laziness, lack of ambition.

The families themselves did not use the word "poor" when describing themselves. Eighty-seven per cent of the Interlake families admitted readily to their own present difficulties, caused by external conditions such as lack of capital, poor soil, small farms, sickness, age, low prices for produce, insufficient welfare, and inadequate housing.

When asked to explain the causes of their neighbour's poverty, they again resorted to explanations such as, "she is worse off than me because she has no husband to help her"; "it's hard for anyone to make a living in St. L." Most of the people who were interviewed did not blame their circumstances on personal deficiencies, or in other ways make unfavourable value judgments, either of their neighbours or of themselves.

There was a group of families interviewed who were denied even some of the barest essentials of living. These people, subsisting at the very bottom of the economic scale, defended their situations as a victory over starvation; "We're not doing too badly, we're living," "a farmer will always eat." "I guess we've got enough because no one has starved to death - but I don't know how we're going to pay the grocery bill."

Characteristic of most of the people interviewed in Interlake was an inability to think abstractly, to respond to hypothetical situations, or to

predict future prospects that could either reverse or improve their lot.

Behaviour, which Mr. Lenton notes tended to confirm these inferences, was the repetition of self-defeating activity by the poor, and the expression of their feeling that they were powerless to influence the external forces that capriciously controlled their lives. The L. family continued to have children, or miscarriages, and to rent unproductive farm land. The C. family didn't think about the three children who died in the fire, or the fire trap which constituted their present living quarters. Mrs. A. waited passively for the social worker to bring her money for herself and her five children. The father of the T. family, self-supporting five years ago, now blind, sick, epileptic and destitute, accepts the arrival of the blind pension with faint surprise. One could speculate that for these people the daily threat of immediate misfortune is sufficiently overwhelming to discourage any critical examination of past or future.

In Lanark, many reasons were given for thinking a family poor. They included personal disability as well as lack of personal resources or facilities and general economic problems. The regional director notes that the development of a list of names of families who were considered to be poor or "hard-up" met with some initial difficulties. Many early community contacts were reluctant to provide names, and it was thought possible that this reflected resentment over the county's designation as depressed and suitable for inclusion in the study.

## A. DÉFINITION DE LA PAUVRETE

Les responsables communautaires et les familles pauvres conçoivent la pauvreté d'une façon différente. Les premiers la voient dans son aspect global, c'est-à-dire dans ses causes et ses effets, bref, ils la conceptualisent davantage; les seconds, la définissent plutôt en fonction de leur situation personnelle et de celle de leur voisin.

### 1. Définition des responsables communautaires

En général, cette définition se rapproche des raisons évoquées au cours du repérage des cas. Les facteurs communs que ces responsables incluent fréquemment dans une telle définition sont, par ordre d'importance:

- a) la pauvreté économique: l'absence de revenu personnel, les charges familiales trop lourdes, terre ou ferme non rentable, chômage chronique, emplois insuffisamment rémunérateurs ou difficilement accessibles;
- b) les insuffisances personnelles et familiales: le manque d'instruction des enfants et des parents, la maladie, l'inadaptation, l'irresponsabilité, l'alcoolisme, l'absence de participation sociale, les taudis, la misère, les dettes, les enfants et adultes sous-doués, l'inquiétude pour l'avenir, la difficulté d'arriver, le désir d'amélioration non satisfait, la

paresse, ne posséder qu'un métier, la vieillesse;

- c) les lacunes sociales: l'embauchage insuffisant, l'équipement sanitaire et scolaire insuffisant, l'absence d'organisation des loisirs (pour les jeunes surtout), l'absence de cohésion sociale.

## 2. Définition des familles

La conception de la pauvreté chez les familles met d'abord l'accent sur les difficultés qu'elles éprouvent: "on ne gagne pas assez pour arriver"; "on en arrache"; "on ne sait pas ce qu'on va manger demain." Chez d'autres, la frustration de l'ambition est plus évidente: "on ne peut donner l'instruction à nos enfants"; "on ne peut pas faire comme les autres." Le manque d'avantages essentiels se reflète dans les deux définitions suivantes: "Etre pauvre, c'est laver son linge sans savon" et "c'est ne pas avoir de papier journal pour allumer son poêle."

Certaines causes morales de la pauvreté sont exprimées par ce qui suit: "être pauvre, c'est être trop paresseux pour travailler." "Si un tel est pauvre, c'est qu'il boit trop -- il va souvent à l'hôtel." Et puis l'insuffisance vient à son tour expliquer la pauvreté; pour quelques-uns: "Etre pauvre, c'est n'être pas instruit" ou "c'est ne pas être fin."

## B. DESCRIPTION OF FAMILIES

### 1. Source of Income

In this study a total of 290 families were interviewed. The presentation below outlines the sample per area according to source of income of the head of the family.

<u>Source of Income</u>	<u>Number of Families</u>			
	<u>Inverness</u>	<u>Quebec</u>	<u>Lanark</u>	<u>Interlake</u>
Self-employed	14	9	15	28
Self-employed and wages	16	5	17	12
Self-employed and welfare	5	4	1	2
Self-employed, wages and welfare	-	-	4	9
Wages and welfare	10	23	7	3
Wages	20	12	28	11
Welfare	10	10	5	10
Total families	75	63	77	75

The average income per person for the families in Inverness was about \$28 per month. In Lanark it was somewhat higher but 95 per cent of the families had an income of less than \$4,000 per year. The average per capita income in the Interlake area was \$36.

The regional director for Inverness county notes that fourteen

families derived their income solely from self-employment. Farming, fishing, and wood-cutting made up the occupational groups. Twenty families derived their income solely from wages - truck driving, highway work and woods-work were the main occupational groups. Ten families derived their income solely from some form of public welfare. Sixteen families had a combination of self-employment and wages and ten families had a combination of wages and welfare as their source of income. In five additional families the source of income was a combination of self-employment and welfare. Unemployment insurance was not included as a welfare payment and, therefore, if a family was in receipt of wages and unemployment insurance they appear in the category of wage earners rather than a combination of wage earners and welfare.

The average age of seventy fathers of the Inverness families was 47 years. In the five other families the father was deceased. Thirty-six of the fathers were over 47 years and thirty-four were 47 years of age or younger. It was observed that the younger fathers had as their source of income wage employment or a combination of wage employment and part-time self-employment in farming, fishing or woods work. The fathers over the 47 average age tended to be employed in self-employment or had as their source of income self-employment and welfare.

In Lanark county, the most frequently reported type of income source was wages. The twenty-eight wage workers lived, when employ-

ment was interrupted, on unemployment insurance or workmen's compensation payments, supplemented by family allowances and sometimes old age security to older members. The fifteen self-employed lived by farm, trapping, or wood lot production, supplemented by family allowances and sometimes old age security payments. The seventeen families who lived by a combination of self-employment and wages may at times have had unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, family allowance, and old age security payments. The five families on welfare payments lived by means test programs and, in some, family allowances. The other twelve who received some welfare payments may have had any combination of the above during the year past.

In Lanark as in other rural areas, an on-and-off the land pattern of living dates back to the earliest days and pervades all economic and social groups in this county. Identification is not clearly with self-employment or wage earning interests. Even those who are in one or another type of employment live in communities where most families have members in both and apparently are affected by this fact. Employment officers suggested that the difficulties of people straddling self-employment and industry are added to in the adjustment required between the two tempos and ways of using time. The farm-trained person working long hours, with perhaps many breaks, may not be too popular with industrial employers wanting concentration for eight hours, unless he established factory habits early in

his life. Many job seekers of this kind feel that they are being discriminated against when not readily placed.

In the Interlake area, the largest group of families reported being self-employed. While it is difficult to discern any patterns of association among the factors of source of income, amount of income and age of the head of the family, some observations were made. The regional director notes that the ten families on welfare tended to have older persons as family heads and to be in the lowest income levels reported. Conversely, the self-employed and the wage workers, or a combination of these, had the highest per capita incomes and the ages of families heads averaged seven to nine years less than those dependent solely on welfare. The highest age group was that which required welfare to supplement wages. The lowest incomes were reported by those who received welfare as a supplement to wages. It was noted that the self-employed who also received welfare had a per capita income of only half that of the self-employed who did not receive welfare.

The most general observation in regard to all groups is that they are indeed very low, in comparison with any usually recognized standard of living cost (such as is reflected in the amounts of old age pensions, or basic income tax exemptions).

## B. DESCRIPTION DES FAMILLES

### 1. Sources de revenu

Pour les fins de la présente enquête les 63 familles interviewées ont été classées selon la source de leurs revenus: (I) familles rurales retirant leurs revenus de leur ferme ou de leur exploitation forestière (9) désignées ci-après "à leur compte"; (II) familles dont le chef de famille est salarié (12); (III) familles bénéficiaires d'allocation sociale (10) désignées ci-après "Allocations sociales"; (IV) familles retirant leurs revenus de deux sources ou plus (32).

Il a été établi, lors de l'enquête, que 41 familles avaient un revenu mensuel per capita inférieur à \$50.

Il ressort de ce tableau que les personnes dont l'âge varie entre 25 et 29 ans et celles dépassant 55 ans bénéficient de revenus inférieurs. Les revenus les plus élevés se situent chez les personnes qui ont de 45 à 54 ans.

Chez les ruraux à leur compte, le revenu d'un cultivateur âgé de 39 ans s'établissait à \$2544 tandis que dans le cas d'un autre âgé de 60 ans, la rémunération n'atteignait que \$500. Il arrive souvent en milieu rural que les fils de cultivateur abandonnent l'école à bas âge afin d'aider leur père dont les revenus ne permettent pas d'embaucher quelqu'un de l'extérieur.

L'âge et les forces déclinantes du père peuvent aussi mener à

l'abandon de la terre, surtout lorsque les fils ne désirent pas prendre la relève. Ainsi, un père de 59 ans qui a trois fils préfère louer sa terre aux cultivateurs des environs. Selon lui, le coût d'exploitation est trop élevé et il est préférable de couper du bois ou de travailler à l'extérieur.

Un autre chef de famille, âgé de 60 ans, hésite à améliorer le rendement de sa ferme parce que son exploitation ne lui rapporte que \$400 par année(vente de lait et d'animaux). N'ayant pas l'argent nécessaire pour nourrir ses animaux adéquatement, il s'ensuit que la production n'est pas très élevée. Il n'a donc pas les moyens de faire les améliorations qui s'imposent pour accroître le rendement de sa ferme.

Dans le groupe de salariés, l'âge des chefs de famille interviewés varie entre 30 ans et 50 ans. Un chef de famille âgé de 35 ans ayant 14 personnes à sa charge a un revenu mensuel de \$270. La famille se tire d'affaires, mais l'hiver, elle contracte de nouvelles dettes.

Dans 10 cas paraissant dans le groupe des bénéficiaires d'allocation sociale, sept reçoivent des allocations d'assistance publique, deux des allocations d'assurance-chômage et d'assistance publique, et dans un cas, l'assistance-vieillesse et l'aide aux mère nécessiteuses.

Dans ce groupe, l'âge du chef de famille varie de 27 à 62 ans. Comme il se trouve une assez forte proportion d'illettrés parmi eux, la moyenne assez élevée de l'âge (46.7) et celle plutôt basse du revenu annuel, (\$1,848) laissent entrevoir peu de possibilités de réhabilitation ou de

reclassement. Certains d'entre eux sont et demeureront des "dépendants chroniques". A ce propos, voici une famille de 10 personnes où l'allocation sociale se chiffre à \$190 et dont le père a 44 ans. En raison de son âge et de son manque d'instruction, le chef de famille ne peut tenter d'améliorer son sort. Il en résulte donc que les répercussions actuelles et futures de cette situation sur la famille sont particulièrement angoissantes.

Dans le groupe des familles dont le revenu provient de deux sources ou plus l'âge varie de 27 à 64 ans avec une assez forte proportion dans le groupe de 30 à 50 ans. Le problème principal de ce groupe est sans contredit celui du chômage saisonnier qui frappe tous les chefs de famille, peu importe leur âge. Il existe aussi un grave danger: certains sont satisfaits du statu quo et ne manifestent pas le désir de s'améliorer.

Le mouvement coopératif a une emprise certaine dans cette région et la plupart semblent accorder leur appui à ce mouvement. Une personne, cependant, exprime son mécontentement au sujet de la coopérative de beurre: "ils vont faire des lois, nous obliger à construire une laiterie hors des étables et acheter des machines pour refroidir le lait. Nous n'avons pas les moyens... si au moins le gouvernement donnait des octrois pour s'installer... je ferais de l'argent avec mes vaches."

Le revenu des salariés est facilement mis en échec par l'achat d'un

article essentiel, tel qu'une voiture d'occasion qui assure le transport du chef de famille à son travail. Lorsqu'il faut faire des versements réguliers et considérables, il devient alors facile de rompre l'équilibre du budget familial.

Dans le cas des personnes dont le revenu n'est pas assez élevé, plusieurs doivent faire des heures de travail supplémentaires. Dans l'un des foyers, on a constaté que le père redoute fortement la maladie, car il doit assurer la subsistance de sa famille. Un autre dont le salaire n'est que de \$48 par semaine, déclare: "We live and we only live."

Dans d'autres cas, il existe un écart prononcé des salaires, selon les saisons. En hiver, le salaire est parfois inférieur et il s'ensuit des difficultés financières pour le père de famille.

C'est le chômage en hiver qui affecte le plus le revenu des chefs de famille. En effet, le chômage s'étend sur une période de six mois. Dans de telles circonstances, l'assurance-chômage constitue la seule source de revenu pour bon nombre de personnes. Dans un secteur de la région, la dépendance d'une seule source d'emploi demeure la principale cause du chômage.

Dans la région, les salaires ne sont pas très élevés car la main-d'œuvre est trop abondante pour être exigeante. On s'en tient souvent aux règlements établis par la Régie du salaire minimum. Par ailleurs, quelques-uns se sont plaints de la présence d'immigrants qui, disent-ils,

prennent la place des gens de la région, parce qu'ils acceptent des salaires moindres.

2. Housing

Information concerning housing conditions was obtained in the study.

The general impression from the four areas is conveyed in the following summary.

The Interlake regional director notes that the low standard of housing was a problem which tended to confirm the view of others in the area that the families referred to were in poor circumstances. The condition of housing was rated by the interviewers as good, fair or poor.

About 15 per cent of the homes were rated as good, between 33 per cent to 47 per cent as fair. At least 38 per cent were rated as poor up to a high of 52 per cent in the Interlake area. While these ratings were more or less subjective, poor condition may be described as no indoor plumbing or running water, wood as fuel for heating and cooking, faulty or no foundations, no insulation, leaking roofs, and windows broken or non-existent.

The study suggests that the actual dollar cost of such housing was virtually nil for the majority of families. Expenditures reported for rent, mortgages, taxes, and maintenance were very low. The Inverness study reports that taxes on property ranged from \$5 to \$10 per month. Given an assessment at 85 per cent of market value at a rate of 3.34 per \$100 of assessment, this represents an extremely low property value. The Lanark report notes that some tenants did not pay for the use of the houses in which they are living. The houses may have belonged to relatives of the family,

or the owner had no other use for them. In some cases there were tax arrears which were not included in the reported expenditures.

Most of the homes reported had electricity and the majority had a car and either a radio or television. The number of rooms reported per house did not seem to be an accurate indicator of over-crowding. In the case of newer homes perhaps only one room was finished and in livable condition. In some of the older large homes, available rooms had been shut off because of heating and maintenance problems.

The Interlake study was the only one which included Indian (both reserve and non-reserve) families in the survey. The regional director points out that Indian homes are among the poorest in the area. The housing assistance provided for Indians living on the reserves is not adequate to meet the need. Most of the reservation houses are extremely small and the families large. Young married couples with a baby or two must frequently move in with relatives or friends because they have nowhere else to live.

## 2. Logement

Règle générale, la qualité du logement reflète en quelque sorte le degré de pauvreté. Dans la région de l'ouest du Québec soumise à la présente étude, environ 70 pour cent des habitations ne sont pas pourvues d'un système d'eau à l'intérieur et 50 pour cent n'ont pas de toilette. Par ailleurs, quatre familles sur cinq possèdent une radio et le service de l'électricité; trois familles sur quatre, un réfrigérateur et un appareil de télévision; tandis qu'une famille sur deux jouit du service de téléphone et possède une automobile.

Voici quelques exemples de la situation déplorable du logement chez certaines familles:

- a) Maison d'une seule pièce habitée par un couple malade et dont le revenu annuel s'établit à \$1,000. Ils se sentent "en prison".
- b) Maison de deux pièces qui sert à loger 10 personnes. Il n'y a aucun service d'eau et d'électricité. A peine quelques chaises, une table et une radio. Les enfants sont malpropres et mal vêtus. A l'âge de 3, 4 et 5 ans, ils connaissent la "misère d'un pays sous-développé". Le revenu mensuel du père est de \$194.
- c) Maison construite en 1964 avec du bois de rebut dans laquelle habite une famille de huit enfants. Ils couchent tous dans la même pièce. Aucun revêtement intérieur. L'herbe y pousse à travers le plancher et l'on voit le jour par les fentes du mur.

d) Maison de six pièces habitée par une famille de sept enfants.

Faute d'argent, on n'a pu terminer la construction. Aucun revêtement extérieur et plusieurs vitres brisées. Ni prélard, ni tapis sur les planchers.

C. HEALTH, WELFARE, EDUCATION AND SOCIAL PARTICIPATION

Each of the regional reports contained information about the attitudes and participation of the families studied with respect to health, education and welfare services. Some information on the social participation of these families was also included.

1. Health

Among the Inverness families studied, there was a general positive response to the public health nurse and the home visiting function appeared welcome and accepted by the English-speaking families. Other functions of the Department of Public Health were much less understood, however, and there was much confusion about the role that public health services should play in providing medical care. French-speaking families had a very vague and limited concept of the role of the public health nurse. There appears to be a language barrier that has not been fully overcome in either the health or welfare services particularly in the written interpretative material.

Family after family noted the problem of distance and cost involved in calling a doctor although it was reported that the family doctor was generally held in very high regard. The distance varied from 25 to 40 miles and the cost of house call was most commonly quoted at \$25. While probably a minimum charge from the doctor's point of view, this amount represented a major outlay to the family and a strong deterrent to using the doctor's services. Serious accidents, appendicitis, childbirth or prolonged illness were occasions for summoning the doctor. It was evident that few if any of the families studied had any type of prepaid medical coverage.

Discontent was expressed in Inverness over the lack of dental

facilities particularly for the children. The Public Health Department had previously been able to maintain a travelling dental clinic which provided service to school-aged children, but because of the scarcity of dentists this service has had to be discontinued.

In looking at the structure of health services, Dr. Touzel comments on the differential effects occurring in rural and urban areas. Physicians and hospitals located in urban centres provide the medical services for the rural areas. For many of the rural people, this means that doctors are as much as 35 miles or more away. Because of the distances that separate patient and doctor, home visits and office calls are difficult and costly for both the patient and the doctor. Specialist services are even farther away, and dental services are not readily available.

Insurance coverage is lower in rural areas than in urban, and this important community resource is not in fact available to many of the families interviewed in the Lanark study. In this regard, public welfare recipients may be relatively better off than their neighbours. The medical welfare plan of the Ontario Department of Welfare provides medical care authorizations for recipients of public assistance and insures them for hospitalization.

Hospital facilities are present in the larger towns. These are general hospitals and have no psychiatric units. No out-patient or special clinics are available within the county. Over 90 per cent of the population

of Ontario is now served by 37 public health units but no such organization exists in Lanark.

The responses by the Interlake area families to the questions about health services would seem to indicate that illness occurred frequently in the families surveyed and that there was a close relationship between amount of illness and low housing standards, poor living conditions and low income. Most of the families interviewed showed initiative in obtaining some degree of medical and hospital attention despite a shortage of private physicians and distance to hospitals. There was a lack of public health services in some areas and in other areas, families were ignorant of their existence and/or purpose.

Health problems reported by these families to have been present during the preceding 12 months were as follows:

Accidents	Eczema	Nerves
Allergies	Epileptic Fits	Neurology Treatments
Arthritis	Eye Examinations	Pneumonia
Baby Care	Foot Trouble	Poison Ivy
Back Trouble	Gall Bladder	Post-operative check-ups
Broken Bones	Headaches	Pregnancies
Bronchitis	Hepatitis or Jaundice	Quinsy
Cataracts	Heart	Sinus
Chicken Pox	Hernia	Skin Infection
Colds	High Blood Pressure	Sore Arm
Convulsions	Hysterical Paralysis	Sprain
Crippled	Infections	Stroke
Cyst	Kidney Infection	Throat Infections
Diabetes	Mental Deficiency	Ulcers
Diphtheria	Minor Illnesses	
Dog Bite	Miscarriages	

## 1. Santé

L'incidence de la maladie chez les personnes qui bénéficient de l'assistance sociale semble être plus élevée que dans tout autre secteur de la population.

Le recours aux services médicaux et hospitaliers est relié directement à l'ampleur des revenus. Cinq familles dont le revenu per capita n'atteint que \$30 ne consultent le médecin que pour la naissance et le soin des enfants. Par ailleurs, on constate parmi les familles à revenus plus élevés, une tendance à recourir plus fréquemment aux services de santé.

La mauvaise santé se traduit généralement par une diminution des activités des travailleurs et des cultivateurs. Il arrive que certains cultivateurs engagent un homme de cour pour les aider dans leurs travaux tandis que d'autres, devant l'insuffisance de leurs moyens, doivent se résigner à abandonner leur ferme. On a relevé le cas d'un cultivateur, atteint de diabète, s'est vu forcé de retirer de l'école son fils afin que celui-ci puisse lui aider. Par ailleurs, un mineur a abandonné son emploi à cause de son état de santé.

Dans l'ensemble, on se dit satisfait des services de médecin, à part quelques restrictions se rapportant au manque de confiance, à l'éloignement et à l'âge de certains médecins. Quant aux services hospitaliers, l'éloignement des hôpitaux constitue un sérieux

inconvénient, surtout pour les cas d'urgence. Dans la région à l'étude, la plupart des familles se trouvent à moins de 30 milles de l'hôpital, mais dans quelques cas cette distance est de beaucoup supérieure. Le coût élevé des soins médicaux, tant par le médecin qu'à l'hôpital, représente un fardeau financier très onéreux et une menace constante pour la famille. Selon eux, l'aide gouvernementale est essentielle dans le cas de maladie prolongée, car cette dernière a vite fait de ruiner les projets les mieux édifiés.

Règle générale, les familles connaissent assez mal les avantages que peuvent apporter les unités sanitaires, à l'exclusion des services que dispense l'infirmière-hygieniste à leurs enfants. Quant aux responsables communautaires, bon nombre reconnaissent volontiers le rôle bienfaisant des unités sanitaires et le dévouement de leur personnel.

## 2. Welfare

The Inverness study reported that ten of the families studied were dependent entirely on welfare payments. The average income per month for the 78 persons involved was \$22.66 per person. This was the lowest monthly per person average for any of the source of income groups in the study. All families in receipt of welfare were considered to be poor, but those on municipal welfare were considered to be the poorest.

In all four regional studies, complaints about the inadequacy of welfare payments were received. It was apparent that without external intervention, either by relatives or by new programmes, the families in receipt of welfare would be unable to progress to any sustained level of independence. Inadequate welfare allotments may tend to contribute to maintaining poverty rather than relieving it. The Inverness study suggested that the longer a family is on welfare, the poorer they become; furniture, for instance, wears out and cannot be replaced, housing repair and maintenance is put off, etc.

The Interlake study points out that the ten families receiving welfare payments as their only source of income seemed defeated by their circumstances. They could see no way out of their hopeless situation and seemed to have given up any hope of improving conditions. To these people "being on welfare" seemed to mean "the end of the road." There was no further hope for improvement. You had to sink very low to get assistance

and when you did it was only enough to keep you there. Those on welfare felt they were looked down upon by the rest of the community. They felt themselves to be at the mercy of the welfare official.

There were 35 families out of the 290 studied in the four regions reported to be wholly dependent on welfare and other social transfer payments for their source of income. Various factors were reported as involved in getting these families to this state of dependence. The fathers in this group tended to be older. Sickness and chronic disability were reported in a majority of cases.

2. Bien-être

Il existe dans les comtés de Pontiac-Gatineau-Papineau nombre d'organismes d'assistance sociale à caractère religieux. A ceux-ci viennent s'ajouter des organismes privés dont la tâche principale consiste à recueillir des fonds et aider leurs concitoyens. Il s'y trouve aussi des maisons d'accueil pour enfants et vieillards mais d'autres centres seront bientôt construits à Hull et dans le comté de Pontiac. La région est desservie par deux organismes de bien-être: le Service social de Hull et le Bureau régional du ministère de la Famille et du Bien-être social.

Le Service social de Hull est soutenu en partie par la Fédération des œuvres de charité de Hull et de l'ouest du Québec et aussi par le gouvernement provincial. Le Service social administre l'assistance-chômage pour le compte du gouvernement provincial dans le comté de Pontiac, dans la partie sud du comté de Gatineau et dans la partie nord du comté de Papineau. Il voit au placement des enfants et des personnes âgées tout en apportant de l'aide aux mères célibataires. Le personnel du SSH, affecté au service rural, se rend une fois la semaine dans les divers chefs-lieux afin de rencontrer les personnes nécessiteuses de la région.

Le Bureau régional du ministère de la Famille et du Bien-être social, dont le siège est à Hull, administre les programmes d'allocations sociales (aveugles, assistance-vieillesse, invalides, mères nécessiteuses) de même que l'assistance-chômage dans la ville de Hull et le sud du comté

de Papineau.

Le nombre de cas pris en charge dans les régions rurales dépasse les effectifs de ces deux organismes et oblige les représentants affectés au travail en milieu rural à se livrer presque exclusivement à des tâches administratives et d'enquête.

Attitude au sujet des organismes de bien-être

De tous les organismes de bien-être, le Service social de Hull est sans aucun doute celui qui est le mieux connu de la population; ainsi on sait très bien où se rendre et à quel moment il est possible de rencontrer le représentant de ce service.

Même si pour plusieurs on juge son rôle indispensable, il reste qu'on le conçoit surtout en fonction de l'assistance financière qu'il procure aux indigents, aux invalides et aux malades.

"Le Service social, d'affirmer une personne interviewée, c'est une bonne chose, mais c'est surtout pour les journaliers." Il faudrait aider davantage le cultivateur, surtout l'hiver. Selon lui, on devrait même imposer une taxe pour aider le Service social à poursuivre son oeuvre: "ce serait de l'argent en banque lorsqu'on est mal pris."

On reconnaît, par ailleurs, que le SSH fait autre chose que de distribuer de l'argent: "on peut aussi y chercher du support moral et même des conseils matrimoniaux."

Un autre estime que c'est une organisation comme le service social

qui peut soulager la misère et apporter une solution aux nombreux problèmes qui confrontent la famille.

Le Service social d'affirmer un monsieur, c'est un remède aux problèmes financiers de son voisin. Pour des raisons de "fierté et d'honneur", il ne veut pas transiger avec cet organisme même si, selon lui, "il serait avantageux de quitter mon emploi et de retirer l'assistance publique; en effet, avec neuf enfants les barèmes du Service social se comparent à mon salaire."

Une personne nous a affirmé que l'aide du SSH entrave la liberté et nuit à la réputation de l'individu: "Le Service social, c'est bon, ça aide, mais ça diminue la liberté; les gens le savent et c'est gênant."

Un autre s'est dit fier de ne pas avoir à recourir à l'aide du Service social: "nous autres, on réussit à se débrouiller."

Par ailleurs, le SSH fait l'objet de certaines critiques se rattachant principalement aux méthodes d'assistance et au choix des personnes qui reçoivent de l'aide. A cet égard un chef de famille a souligné: "C'est bon, mais certaines gens n'en ont pas besoin, et sont aidées quand même alors que d'autres qui ne sont pas aidées, en auraient besoin."

Un autre s'est inquiété du mode de distribution des secours et il croit que les organismes de bien-être devraient donner de la nourriture au lieu de l'argent.

Parmi les autres reproches que l'on a formulés à l'endroit du

Service social, certains se rapportent au bas niveau des barèmes d'assistance, au placement des enfants, à la lenteur de l'assistance et, aussi, à l'aide que le SSH apporte aux personnes qui ont déjà du travail ou qui possèdent une automobile.

Le Service social de Hull demeure donc le principal object de satisfaction ou de critique en ce qui a trait aux organismes de bien-être. Les autres organismes n'ont fait l'objet que de rares mentions. En ce qui concerne ces dernières, voici quelques-unes des critiques recueillies: - Une famille indigente s'est vu refuser l'aide qu'elle recevait d'un club social parce qu'elle n'habitait pas dans le territoire du club en question. - Une famille que le bien-être social a refusé d'aider estime: "qu'il n'y a pas de justice, certains reçoivent et ne devraient pas recevoir."

Plusieurs reprochent que les prestations d'assurance-chômage ne sont pas assez élevées. Souvent, on ne saisit pas la différence qui existe entre assurance-chômage et assistance publique; "l'assurance-chômage est indispensable pour les gens de métier, ça les empêche de crever de faim en hiver."

3. Education

All four regional reports noted the interest in education expressed by the families interviewed. The Inverness study, for instance, reports the interest and pride taken in the school system and the general expression of a high level of aspiration for their children. In the Lanark report Dr. Touzel suggests that this concern for the future of children may be an avenue to motivate programs of improvement.

Certain difficulties were also noted which are perhaps best summarized in the following paragraph from the Inverness report. "There was much confusion about the various vocational and trades training programs offered by various departments of government. Courses in woodlot management, engine repair for fishermen, re-training the unemployed, rehabilitation programs, vocational schools, trades training schools - all presented a mass of confusion to the families surveyed. They felt frustrated time and again when they enquired about a program, to be talking or writing to the wrong place. In discussion with the Inspector of Schools on this point he agreed completely stating that it was little wonder the families were confused as he and his department have been attempting to get a co-ordinated approach in this area for several years but without success to date. Trade and Industry, Lands and Forests, Labour, Education and St. Francis Xavier University, to name only a few of the groups that at various times have put on courses in the country."

In all the areas the program of school consolidation is underway.

The families interviewed raise some of the usual questions and objections, namely, problems of transportation, distance to school, increase in taxes.

It is obvious from the interview reports that other factors need to be considered in any planned attempt to prepare the children of poor families such as these, to attain a higher educational level. One room homes are scarcely conducive to good study habits, books are conspicuous by their absence, low nutritional standards hamper some of the children. While modernization of school facilities and vocational training programs are steps in the right direction, it may be necessary to consider public provision of some facilities which in high income areas would naturally be available at home.

### 3. Education

Au cours des dernières années, il s'est produit des changements profonds dans le système d'enseignement au Québec. Dans la région à l'étude les commissions scolaires régionales sont établies sur une base confessionnelle. Trois régionales desservent la population catholique tandis qu'une commission régionale administre les écoles protestantes dans les trois comtés. Une attention toute particulière a été apportée aux problèmes de l'éducation de l'enfance exceptionnelle et de l'orientation des élèves vers la formation qui conviendra le mieux à leurs talents et à leurs aspirations.

Voici quelques statistiques sur le nombre des écoles:

Elémentaires catholiques	86
Elémentaires protestantes	14
Elémentaires-secondaires catholiques	52
Intermédiaires protestantes	8
Secondaires-catholiques (pub.)	65
Secondaires-catholiques (ind.)	3
Secondaires protestantes	9

Dans la région étudiée, il se trouve une école normale, un institut familial et un collège classique. La population a aussi accès aux nombreuses institutions d'enseignement de la région de Hull, dont trois collèges classiques, deux écoles normales et une école de métier. A remarquer

qu'il ne reste plus dans cette région que quatre écoles d'une classe.

Dans le comté de Gatineau 66 pour cent de la population non scolaire n'a pas dépassé le stade primaire tandis que dans les comtés de Papineau et Pontiac ce chiffre atteint 75 pour cent.

Des cours de pré-emploi ont été organisés dans la région de Hull à l'intention des adultes chômeurs, de 18 ans et plus. Ceux qui ont droit à des prestations d'assurance-chômage reçoivent, outre les cours et fournitures scolaires à titre gratuit, des indemnités de subsistance. Il s'agit d'un plan conjoint avec le gouvernement fédéral. Les classes portent sur les sujets académiques et s'étendent jusqu'à la 9e année. Il se donne aussi des cours dits de récupération à l'intention des adultes qui ne fréquentent pas l'école. Ce sont des cours du soir de la même nature que les précédents. Ils se sont donnés en 1964-65 à Hull, Aylmer et Campbell's Bay, et comptaient 380 personnes inscrites. Le plan d'action de la Commission régionale de l'Outaouais (qui comprend Hull, Pontiac et une partie du comté de Gatineau) est de mettre sur pied des cours du soir pour adultes dans tous les centres où l'inscription minimum sera de 20 élèves. En fonction de certaines options, ces adultes pourront, selon leurs possibilités, compléter leurs études en deux ou quatre années. On escompte une inscription de 1,000 adultes pour l'année scolaire de 1965-66.

Des cours d'initiation au travail sont prévus pour les élèves qui ne

poursuivent pas leurs études académiques afin de les préparer à divers emplois dans le secteur commercial et l'industrie.

Dans l'ensemble, les parents semblent reconnaître la nécessité, pour leurs enfants, de posséder une bonne instruction; ils reconnaissent également que le manque d'instruction est en grande partie responsable de leur pauvreté actuelle. Leurs regrets, à cet égard, se traduisent par un désir sincère de procurer une meilleure instruction à leurs enfants.

Même si quelques-uns manifestent une certaine réticence vis-à-vis le système de régionalisation des écoles, la plupart se réjouissent des progrès de l'enseignement. On loue généralement la qualité de l'enseignement dispensé aux enfants et la décision du gouvernement d'abandonner les écoles de rang. Cependant, la question du transport des élèves et l'augmentation des taxes scolaires en inquiètent plusieurs. D'autres ont déploré le fait que les enfants doivent parcourir parfois de longues distances pour recevoir un enseignement français au niveau secondaire, obligeant par là des enfants de la même famille à fréquenter des écoles différentes. Par ailleurs, certains semblent ignorer que leurs enfants désavantagés mentalement peuvent recevoir un enseignement spécialisé.

On a noté chez un petit nombre de parents un sentiment d'indifférence et de laissez-faire face à ces questions. L'instruction de leurs enfants ne semble pas les préoccuper.

#### 4. Social Participation

The families surveyed were asked whether or not they were members of local community organizations, church groups, etc. On the whole in all areas these families did not participate in the formal organizational structure of their community. More of the families reported church affiliation than anything else but even here the lack of active participation was noticeable.

In all four regions the number of organizations in which people could participate was large and covered a wide variety of interests. Although the number of families studied was not sufficiently large to permit much comparison between income groups with respect to participation, a rise in participation appears to occur with a rise in income. This observation follows the findings of a good many other studies.

There are various aspects of this social isolation touched on in the reports. Lack of money hampers participation. These families as a whole appear apathetic with respect to group involvement and their range of outside interests appears very narrow. Long hours of work and irregular employment may also have been a contributing factor.

Recreational activities seem to be similarly limited. Television represents perhaps the most popular leisure time activity. Other forms of recreation included attending weddings and funerals, bingo games and visiting neighbours. Close to 10 per cent of the families in all four areas reported no outside activities at all.

#### 4. Participation sociale

L'isolement dont souffrent certaines familles les oblige à se replier sur elles-mêmes et à demeurer indifférentes à ce qui se passe autour d'elles. Souvent l'ignorance en est la cause. On ne connaît pas les organisations existantes.

D'autres sont au courant des organisations mais n'en font pas partie. Ils se récusent le plus souvent en invoquant leur manque de ressources. Ils n'ont pas les "moyens de se récréer". D'autres se retirent de certaines associations, faute de pouvoir payer la cotisation. "Mme X était membre de la Ligue des femmes, mais elle n'a pu payer sa cotisation cette année. Elle aimait cela pourtant, car elle oubliait les tâches de la maison et rencontrait des gens."

Le problème de réunir dans une même organisation des gens de niveau d'instruction très varié, est difficile à résoudre. Certaines gens moins instruites sont particulièrement sensibles à ce point et, craignant de ne pouvoir être à la hauteur de la tâche, ou encore de ne pouvoir faire valoir leurs opinions elles préfèrent demeurer en dehors des cadres structurés.

A part les organisations religieuses, les gens s'intéressent beaucoup à l'Association des Parents et Maîtres. Cela s'explique parce qu'en général, ces familles s'intéressent à l'avancement de leurs enfants. Cependant, "M. et Mme X ne font pas partie de l'APM parce qu'il y a une

contribution à payer et qu'ils n'ont pas le temps. D'autres croient "qu'il est bon de discuter les progrès de l'instruction; ça encourage les enfants de voir que leurs parents s'intéressent à leurs travaux."

En ce qui concerne la participation à l'Union des cultivateurs, un monsieur a souligné qu'il a confiance en cette Union, car ils s'unissent pour faire des revendications auprès du gouvernement. Ils ont eu de bons résultats: par exemple, le gouvernement remet la taxe sur les travaux de la ferme. Une autre personne, membre de la coopérative agricole, croit "qu'il est bon que les gens soient unis en coopérative, car ils ne se font pas jouer, ils savent où ils vont". Un troisième organisme qui retient aussi l'attention est le "Conseil économique". C'est une bonne chose parce qu'on se réunit pour discuter de ce qu'il y aurait à faire afin d'améliorer les conditions de vie de la région.

Les syndicats ne satisfont pas tout le monde. D'une part, on se dit heureux de ce qu'on y discute des heures de travail et surtout des salaires. Par contre, on trouve qu'ils ne servent à rien car "si on décide de déclarer une grève, la compagnie en question n'hésite pas à embaucher un nouveau personnel."

Chez un petit groupe de familles, on note une participation à des organismes communautaires plus éloignés des intérêts personnels; les Filles d'Isabelle, les Chevaliers de Colomb, la Commission scolaire, le Conseil municipal. Il vaut la peine de citer une initiative pour éveiller

l'intérêt de la population aux loisirs, initiative qui n'a connu que résistance, faute de sens de responsabilité sociale ou d'intérêt de la part des intéressés. M. et Mme X ont tenté de mettre sur pied des ligues de hockey et de ballon sur place avec l'aide financière du curé de la paroisse. On a voulu organiser un bingo, mais sans succès. Durant l'hiver, les jeunes ont brisé les patinoires et le peu d'équipement qu'ils avaient. Cependant, les parents de ces jeunes ont refusé de payer les dommages.

La mesure de participation sociale peut difficilement s'exprimer en termes concrets car elle repose sur un grand nombre de variables d'ordre personnel et communautaire qu'il faut examiner avec soin avant de poser un jugement valable. Que signifie, par exemple, le fait que la participation sociale est presque inexistante dans le groupe des bénéficiaires des allocations sociales (une seule des mères est membre d'un Cercle de fermières parce que "cela lui permet de faire de nouvelles connaissances"); un seul père assiste aux réunions des parents et maîtres qui permettent "la discussion et de rencontrer des gens d'autres municipalités". Comment le bas niveau d'éducation influe-t-il sur la non-participation sociale de ces gens (la moitié des parents sont illettrés). Comment leur bas niveau de revenu agit-il à cet égard (ils ont le per capita mensuel le plus bas)?

Les bingos sont une forme de distraction très en faveur auprès de

ces gens. Ils ne craignent pas de se déplacer pour participer à ce jeu qui fait miroiter à leurs yeux l'attrait d'un prix qu'ils pourraient gagner sans trop d'effort. Leur attitude à cet égard a quelque chose de puéril.

"La fréquentation de l'hôtel" par les parents, à titre de lieu de distraction, revient très souvent dans les rapports des intervieweurs. On s'inquiète aussi du sort des enfants qui sont laissés seuls à la maison ou encore endormis dans la voiture, pendant que leurs parents consomment de la boisson à l'hôtel. Ces hôtels sont de l'avis de plusieurs "trop nombreux et trop prospères". Malheureusement, c'est souvent "la seule place où on peut se rencontrer. Il n'existe aucune salle de réunion."

Pour ce qui est de relations sociales, ces gens s'appuient beaucoup sur ce que peut leur apporter la parenté. Ils y trouvent sécurité et compréhension. Ils craignent de se mêler trop à l'extérieur car "à cause de leur manque d'instruction, cela leur semble impossible de participer à des cercles et de ne pas être à la tête". Leur manque de revenu intervient et leur fait dire sur un ton humoristique; "Entre les familles, ça coûte pas cher pour avoir du fun."

La communication entre voisins semble quelquefois empreinte d'indifférence et de sentiment d'isolement volontaire: "Les voisins sont trop loin et ne sentent pas le besoin de se rencontrer" dit un intervieweur. Et un autre d'ajouter: "Mme dit qu'ils n'ont pas besoin des autres pour vivre." Le nouveau venu a quelque misère à s'intégrer: il est hésitant et

se mêle peu à ses voisins car "il trouve la mentalité différente... les gens n'ont ni le même langage, ni les mêmes moeurs qu'à l'endroit où il se trouvait auparavant."

Sauf par simple allusion, les familles étudiées n'ont pas témoigné un vif intérêt aux structures gouvernementales qui sont loin d'elles: le gouvernement provincial et le gouvernement fédéral. Par contre, le "Conseil municipal" et le "maire" sont pour elles des points de mire très visibles.

On voudrait d'abord que le Conseil municipal soit véritablement actif et qu'il s'occupe de l'ensemble de la chose publique et non de "seulement de nettoyer les rues au printemps". Selon plusieurs la municipalité pourrait organiser les loisirs, améliorer les routes, construire des barrages et installer des égouts. Ils voudraient aussi une participation plus active de leur municipalité aux travaux d'hiver. Maintes fois, les personnes se plaignent de l'inertie du gouvernement municipal "qui ne bouge pas" et "qui n'écoute pas nos suggestions", disent-elles.

D. ORIENTATION TO CHANGE: ATTITUDES AND PERCEIVED OPPORTUNITIES

In this study the interviewers were asked to attempt to secure evidence of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with economic and social opportunities and limits, and of expectations of change. These efforts were made in discussions of interests, possible change of location, and hopes relative to health, education and welfare institutions, and to ways of making a living. Understanding of the families' aspirations was recognized as important to policy development in the future.

A variety of factors precluded dealing with this aspect in any extensive or definitive fashion. Firstly, the length of time over which an interview could be extended was limited. Then, as Dr. Touzel points out, a single interview is inadequate to secure dependable findings on such a subtle and involved matter as attitudes and perceived opportunities in relation to change. A study would have to focus directly on this problem, and such was not the intent of the present study. However, some of the comments and observations made in the regional studies may be noted here. They indicate where further investigation may be required as well as some impressions of the existing situation

The Lanark report makes the following points. It must be admitted that tremendous blocks are in the way of action on the part of people themselves. The generally more conservative attitudes of rural people

enhanced by low income, poor education and training and lack of experience and confidence that they can in any way influence the situation, are among the most obvious. The extent to which out-migration of the more adventurous and perhaps more capable has affected the outlook of those who remain is still to be discovered. The greatest recognition of a need for change is related to children and their needs for social contact, education and training. Effective help at this point should have special attention.

A major complaint is that of too hard work and too much work. If they had a choice they would have more rest and more conveniences, see that their children had "outside contacts," and that they themselves would "get away" once in a while. The most sympathy is directed toward those who work the hardest and can't get away. Exhaustion and worry are very noticeable particularly among the women.

The Inverness report, in looking at opportunity for change, notes that some of the fathers interviewed have been away and tried their luck in an industrial community and returned to Inverness. There is an expectation of mobility but this focuses on the children. It was quite common for parents to express the attitude that they were educating their children to live elsewhere.

In order for a family to use the opportunity for change, they would normally need some savings or convertible assets to tide them over the

initial period of adjustment. There was no indication amongst the seventy-five families that they had in fact been able to save money. The absence of any skills in the wage earner group would suggest that the fathers would not be in a strong position in the employment market in the industrial areas. The style of life and work pattern of the farmer, the fisherman and the woodcutter is not one that adapts easily to the hourly wage pressure of industry. The time clock, schedules and production quotas that are so important in industry are quite different from the time orientation and pace of work in the primary industries where the source of income is self-employment.

In general there was a preference expressed for living in the country - in a rural setting. For those who have lived there all of their lives (as most of the families interviewed had) this may have been an expression of habit rather than a voluntary choice. However, it does appear to be a factor.

In closing, an impression given by all the area studies should be noted. These families do not appear to be "alienated" from the rest of the society neither may it be said that any "culture of poverty" was uncovered. These families have a sense of self-worth and have retained their self-respect. While there may be regional differences with respect to expressed attitudes and values, these do not appear to be unique to those who are poor. Among the group for whom welfare payments are the only source of income,

there appears to be an acceptance of defeat and a lack of hope. But it did not appear that their present position was blamed on anything other than unfortunate circumstances which are accepted with resignation. Rather than indicating an alienation from the whole, the study suggests that at least for those interviewed, that the poor are disadvantaged, that they recognize this and that they would consider changes if there appeared to be a realistic possibility of carrying it through. Those who are self-employed in farming seem to have some awareness of their lack of ability to meet modern requisites re capital investment but lacking training in other skills hesitate to make any change lest it be for the worse.

ORIENTATION VERS LE CHANGEMENT: LES ATTITUDES ET LES DESIRS

Au sein des familles étudiées, le désir de changement s'est manifesté surtout en fonction de l'occupation et du domicile. En général, ces gens sont obstinément ancrés à leur milieu et ils ne sont disposés à le quitter que si des avantages économiques leur sont offerts ailleurs. Et même dans une telle conjoncture, ils voudraient conserver le même mode de vie rurale. Cette observation touche les chefs de famille âgés de plus de 30 ans et dont la plupart ont presque toujours habité la campagne. En ce qui regarde la jeune génération, il se peut fort bien que les attitudes et les sentiments soient différents.

Nous passerons maintenant en revue les attitudes des différents sous-groupes (à leur compte, salariés, bénéficiaires d'allocations sociales, ceux à source mixte de revenu) de classification adoptée dans la présente étude. Bien qu'elles ne varient pas tellement d'un groupe à l'autre, elles s'expriment cependant avec des nuances différentes.

Parmi le groupe à leur compte, le désir de changement ou de non changement est bien précis. Deux d'entre eux seraient disposés à quitter leur ferme pour un travail plus rémunérateur tandis que trois autres se refusent à tout changement à cause de leur attachement à la terre. Un cultivateur a affirmé qu'il était trop âgé et que le fait de quitter ne corrigerait pas la situation.

Les cultivateurs aiment la diversité du travail agricole: "ce n'est pas routinier, on se sent le maître."

Un autre est très fier de son titre de fermier et affirme: "qu'il aime mieux travailler à \$5 par jour sur sa terre qu'à \$25 par jour à l'extérieur." Selon lui, le travail de la ferme "n'est pas assez payant" et le gouvernement devrait les aider financièrement pour qu'ils ne soient pas obligés de travailler à l'extérieur.

Certaines personnes entretiennent de la répugnance pour la ville: "je ne veux pas aller vivre en ville, c'est mieux sur la terre pour élever les enfants qu'en ville."

Deux camionneurs seraient disposés à changer de milieu, l'un pour trouver un travail plus rémunérateur, et l'autre, à condition de demeurer dans le milieu rural. Il n'y a pas d'autre façon de vivre (e.g. la vie rurale): "du moins, on ne crève pas de faim, on a de la viande et notre petit jardin."

Des douze familles de SALARIES, sept sont satisfaites de leur sort et ne souhaitent aucun changement. Parmi les cinq autres où se manifeste ce désir, il s'en trouve qui sont ambivalentes et qui seraient disposées à changer d'emploi ou de milieu mais à certaines conditions. Il y aurait lieu de souligner que ce groupe de familles est un peu plus conscient que les autres des implications de la distance et de la mobilité.

Parmi les chefs de famille qui ne voudraient pas changer, il s'en

trouve quatre dont la source et le montant de revenu, soit leur salaire, apporte pleinement satisfaction. Une promotion récente et la stabilité de leur emploi viennent s'ajouter à ces facteurs pour les ancrer davantage dans leur milieu. Cela implique pas cependant qu'il n'y ait pas de mouvement ou amélioration. Ainsi, "M. X... travaille depuis 10 ans à la manufacture... depuis deux ans, il a pris des cours du soir dans son métier; ainsi il a été promu 'permanent' cette semaine et semble heureux à son emploi." Un autre détient le même emploi depuis huit ans. "Il fait une semaine régulière de 42 heures et l'été, il lui arrive de faire du travail supplémentaire."

Le manque d'instruction en retient deux à leur emploi actuel. L'un d'eux, qui a subi un accident, offre des possibilités de réadaptation. Parmi ceux qui veulent un changement, le motif fondamental demeure toujours l'amélioration de la situation financière . Ainsi ce mécanicien, qui travaille six jours par semaine et ne reçoit aucune rémunération pour ses heures supplémentaires de travail, voudrait travailler dans un moulin où les salaires sont meilleurs et les heures de travail plus raisonnables. Un autre, aussi ouvrier spécialisé, se dirigerait ailleurs s'il en résultait pour lui des avantages économiques, mais il a une préférence marquée pour habiter dans un petit centre. Un camionneur désirerait devenir menuisier ou cultivateur car il est à la recherche d'une situation plus stable, l'industrie du bois, dit-il, est sujette au chômage saisonnier. Un

manoeuvre, encore au début de la trentaine, croit qu'il ne pourra trouver d'emploi disponible que s'il se dirige vers l'Ontario. Cependant, comme il a toujours été à la campagne, il voudrait demeurer dans un milieu rural et rejette le milieu urbain en disant: "On est libre; c'est le grand air, j'aime bûcher mon propre bois de chauffage."

Des dix chefs de famille bénéficiaires D'ALLOCATIONS SOCIALES, quatre seraient disposés à changer de milieu afin de se trouver du travail; un d'entre eux, par ignorance, semble-t-il, n'a pu se prononcer; des cinq derniers qui ne veulent pas changer, deux se déclarent vieux, deux constatent qu'il n'ont pas l'instruction voulue pour se trouver un emploi ailleurs et sous-entendent leur attachement à leur milieu; enfin, un dernier craindrait de ne pas recevoir d'aide s'il était mal pris ailleurs.

Voici comment ces attitudes ont été exprimées:

- a) "Il vient un moment qu'on se décourage et on ne sait plus quoi faire. Quand on n'a pas d'instruction, ni argent, on ne peut pas penser à aller vers les grands centres et les villes où il y aurait peut-être plus de chance de trouver un emploi... Pourquoi aller en ville; la ville nous dit rien: on ne veut pas y aller pour tout l'or du monde. On est bien à X. Il manque seulement du travail. Autrement, on serait parfaitement heureux."
- b) "M... affirma qu'il désirait demeurer dans une petite ville où tous les gens se connaissent... Lorsqu'il manifesta le désir de s'en

aller travailler dans l'Ouest, sa femme n'a pas voulu quitter la région à cause de sa parenté."

- c) "Ce qu'il aime dans le travail de bûcheron, c'est le grand air, la grande liberté, loin de la ville. Les gens ne sont pas compliqués. Jamais il ne quittera la campagne. Mes parents et mes beaux-parents vivent ici. C'est ici qu'on s'est marié. Je suis heureux ici."
- d) "M... entrevoit travailler encore dans une tourbière l'été prochain, mais s'il a la chance de changer d'emploi et d'obtenir au moins le même salaire, il quittera ce travail. Il aimerait obtenir son permis de conducteur de camion. Il regrette ne pas savoir lire et dit avoir perdu des chances d'emploi à cause de cela."

Dans le groupe de ceux à source MIXTE DE REVENU, le refus de changer d'emploi ou de milieu se retrouve dans deux cas sur trois. Le chef de famille allège la plupart du temps qu'il est propriétaire. Certes, il dira bien qu'il préfère travailler à plein temps, douze mois par année, pour un seul employeur, tout en ajoutant "que cet état de choses idéal n'existe pas dans cette partie de la province et du pays". Et revenant à ses soucis de propriétaire, il précise: "Déménager supposerait que j'aille travailler ailleurs, que je vende ici. Or, il est impossible de trouver quelqu'un d'assez mal pris pour venir s'établir ici."

Quelques-uns voudrait bien changer d'emploi mais non de milieu. Ils veulent demeurer dans la province de Québec parce qu'ils y ont toujours vécu et où "on connaît tout le monde".

D'autres veulent devenir cultivateurs, ou encore se diriger vers de "petits centres". Cette préférence marquée pour un milieu où les contacts sociaux sont de nature plus intimes met en relief cette crainte non avouée et non exempte d'une certaine angoisse, d'avoir à se trouver dans un milieu où l'on ne connaît personne.

Quelques-uns sont indifférents à l'amélioration de leur sort. Ils hésitent devant les sacrifices que pourraient leur demander certaines décisions pour améliorer leur sort. Ils ne veulent pas... ils attendent une solution qui leur arrivera de l'extérieur.

Mais il s'en trouve aussi qui veulent aller de l'avant, tel celui qui prend des cours par correspondance pour le chauffage. Un manœuvre qui doit faire vivre une famille de 10 personnes avec un revenu annuel de \$2700 ne manque pas d'initiative, ni d'ambition: il a construit lui-même sa maison. Il aime bien son ouvrage mais préférerait travailler comme menuisier. Il aurait ainsi un emploi plus stable et un salaire plus élevé.

Un autre qui a été victime du chômage voudrait bien travailler davantage, "faire n'importe quoi", mais il a peu d'instruction et ne connaissant que l'industrie du bois, il ne sait que faire pour améliorer son sort. Il rejoint ainsi ce bûcheron qui trouve son travail pénible mais "ne

peut faire autrement n'ayant pas le choix".

Plusieurs manifestent le désir d'améliorer leur situation financière, en ajoutant une autre source de revenu. Deux voudraient, par exemple, devenir garagistes mais avouent qu'ils n'ont pas la formation voulue. Les fermiers soulignent que la terre ne rapporte pas suffisamment et qu'il leur faut rechercher du travail pour arriver à joindre les deux bouts. Ils deviennent journaliers la plupart du temps n'ayant d'autre possibilité que d'exécuter des travaux de manœuvre.

L'âge est un facteur prédominant dans le choix de l'emploi. Ainsi, l'un d'eux qui travaille dans un moulin voudrait un travail qui exige moins d'effort. Il voudrait devenir gardien de nuit. C'est là un emploi quasi introuvable dans sa région.

PART III

SELECTED CASE STUDIES - INVERNESS COUNTY

FAMILY A

SUMMARY

Mr. A. is a 51-year old, self-employed farmer. He has four dependent children in school. They live in an old 10-room, shingled farm-house that is in fair condition. The water is supplied by an indoor pump. They have the usual conveniences, including a truck, television, telephone, washing machine and refrigerator. The home is two miles from the elementary school and eight miles from the high school. The hospital and doctor are 29 miles away.

The total income is \$100 per month from farm and woodlot and \$34 Family Allowance. The average monthly income per person is \$22.33. Mr. A.'s problems in earning a living are typical of the marginal farmers in this county. His aspiration for change is low and he is not disposed to move.

INTERVIEW REPORT

The family lives on a large farm. Mr. A. works in the woods and runs his farm. The farm is not his major source of income. He grows a few vegetables for family use and keeps seven cows. He sells 40 to 50 pounds of cream per week to a dairy for a five-month period at an average

of 60 cents per pound. He also earns approximately \$60 a month from cutting pulpwood. Mr. A. feels that his dairy operation is unprofitable and intends to discontinue raising cattle. He does not have the capital to expand his herd sufficiently to make this operation profitable. He realizes that a small farm cannot provide an adequate income. He would like to move to an area where he could be employed in his previous occupation of hard rock mining. He liked the mining town in Ontario, where he lived before, but at his age, employment opportunities in mining are limited.

Mr. A.'s income is insufficient for an adequate standard of living. It is lower than that of his neighbors owing to the small scale of his farming operation and woodlot. He could cut more wood to increase his income, but this would deplete his woodlot in a short time, leaving him without that source of income. He felt that if a low-interest loan were available to increase his herd, he could make dairy farming a profitable undertaking.

The family's entertainment is limited to television and radio, and an occasional card social and summer dance. Their relationship with their neighbors is excellent and they have a good family life and community spirit. But there does not appear to be any inclination to visit one another for social get-togethers. The ties are not strong enough to prevent the family from moving away, if Mr. A. could sell his farm and obtain suitable employment.

Mr. and Mrs. A. participate in the Home & School Association, through which they come into contact with the people who give talks to the group. Mr. A. knew little of other organizations in the community and his wife spends most of her time at home.

The doctor, drug store and hospital are 29 miles away and their use is limited by the family's finances. Mr. A. said that local hospitals were over-crowded and it was difficult to be admitted. He felt that the two hospitals in Inverness should be amalgamated in the interests of economy and efficient administration. He would like to see dental care for children provided by a unit visiting the schools. The nearest dentist is 40 miles away.

Mr. A. was satisfied with the education his children were obtaining at the local elementary school and considered the teachers excellent. His children were transported by school bus. He was impressed with the high school at Mabou, which is modern, well-equipped and has a good academic standing.

Mr. A. felt that welfare services were useful for people in need because of sickness or misfortune, but he was not familiar with local welfare services. He knew of no family in the district that could be considered as having a hard time. He did not think any social stigma would be attached to people receiving Welfare Assistance.

He considered his community comparable to others in the area, and

that there were more employment opportunities and facilities in cities and towns, but the cost of living was correspondingly higher. He was not anxious to move now because his family would soon be grown up and ready to leave home. They were content with the area, but he was anxious for them to obtain a good education and seek employment elsewhere because of the limited employment available in the district. He has a son in an Ontario mining town, but has no inclination to live there rather than in Inverness County.

#### FAMILY B

##### SUMMARY

Mr. B. is a 52-year old farmer with three teenage children in high school and an older son working as a laborer. His wife's parents make their home with Mr. and Mrs. B. They live in a 10-room, frame farm house which is quite old and in only fair condition. They have indoor plumbing, electricity, a refrigerator, washing machine, telephone and television. The children travel 10 miles to high school, and it is an equal distance to the hospital and doctor.

Mr. B. earns \$175 per month from his farm, and they receive \$40 board from the wife's parents and \$16 Family Allowance. The average monthly income per person for Mr. and Mrs. B. and their three children is \$46.20.

The family is in doubt about the future, Mr. B. feels that his age, investment in the farm and a debt of \$7,000 prevent his moving out. The \$100 a month he pays in debts is 40% of his earnings. However, he realizes that there is little he can do to improve their circumstances as they are. This family has a low orientation to change and will hold onto the farm until the last shot is fired because Mr. B. loves it and is secure in the community that he has known all his life.

#### INTERVIEW REPORT

Mr. B. is a self-employed farmer and lumberman. He has difficulty in meeting his debts, works seven days a week and sees little financial return for it. But he would prefer to stay on the farm if there were any possibility of making ends meet.

The climate affects his income to a large extent, for example, Mr. B. was unable to work as usual in the woods or for the Department of Highways, as it took him some three months to harvest his crops because of an extremely rainy summer. As a result, he did not qualify for unemployment insurance last winter.

Two years ago, Mr. B. lost a barn and 400 hens by fire. During the past three years, bears have caused the loss of 35 lambs. Prices also have reduced his income. Last year was exceptionally bad for poultry, as the price of feed was high and the price received for eggs was low.

There is a good feeling among neighbors in this community. Several

farmers work together on such projects as cutting firewood and harvesting crops. For relaxation, Mr. B. usually stays home and watches television in the evening; Mrs. B. plays bingo weekly during the winter months; the children attend hockey games and occasionally go to the theater.

Mr. B. is quite active in local groups such as the Assumption Society, Farmer's Association, Credit Union, Co-operative Society, St. Peter's Society and Home and School Association. His wife is a member of Les Dames de Ste. Anne.

Although these organizations work for the betterment of the community, and the people are quite aggressive, there appears to be an air of pessimism. They feel that government will have to introduce new industry to keep families from moving away and to lighten the burden on the present taxpayers.

The B. family are quite satisfied with the school system, health services and welfare services. However, they do feel that government could do more in providing jobs for their labor class. One way would be to improve their local fish plant so that work could be continued for 10 months of the year instead of the present four.

Government assistance to farmers includes a \$10 payment per ton of fertilizer and provision of bulk lime at the railroad free of cost. But the station at Inverness is some 30 miles away and farmers must pay for the trucking. It is also becoming more and more difficult for them to

operate farms successfully with the present cost of feed and the low prices received for their produce. They feel that government should subsidize the cost of feed.

The B. family love the farm, and although they would prefer to have more money, they find great satisfaction in growing farm products. There is always enough to eat and it usually is of much better quality than they could buy in a grocery store.

Mr. and Mrs. B. have two children who attend university through bursaries and scholarships. Upon graduation, they will not return to work on the farm. The family will stay in the area until they no longer can operate their farm. Mr. B. will not sell his farm in order to pay his debt of \$7,000.

#### FAMILY C

#### SUMMARY

Mr. C. is a 45-year old laborer with six children. The family live in a four-room, shingled, partly-finished home. Water is supplied from an inside tap. They have electricity, television, a washing machine and a small car. They are two miles from the elementary school, eight miles from the high school and 18 miles from the doctor and hospital.

The family income is \$75 per month from wages, \$30 for unemployment insurance and \$48 Family Allowance. The average monthly income

per person is \$19.12.

The C. family are highly oriented to change and would move immediately if the opportunity arose. Mr. C. felt that the only obstacles were his lack of a trade and difficulty in securing employment.

#### INTERVIEW REPORT

Mr. C. worked for several weeks as a laborer in 1964 and earned \$900. He planned to go fishing this spring with a friend and would earn \$300 per month during May and June. He did not know what he would do for the remainder of the summer.

The C.'s do very little for entertainment. Mr. and Mrs. C. go to the occasional dance and card game; the children attend youth socials and go skating on the river in winter. Their neighbors are quite friendly and helpful.

Mr. C. is a member of the Home and School Association, Credit Union and Farmers' Association. Mrs. C. is also a member of the Home and School Association, the Red Cross and the C.W.L.

Mrs. C. thought that the school system was adequate, and that rural children required as much education as city children. Her eldest daughter is in Grade IX at high school. The six children attend school, and Mrs. C. hoped that they would complete high school at least. Several of the children planned to go in for nursing.

Mr. C. felt that government could provide more jobs for the labor

class. They could build bridges and roads and also develop raw industries, so that young people could stay at home and work. He is going into debt more and more each year.

The C. family were satisfied with present health services.

This family would move to another area if Mr. C. could have steady employment. They liked the area but stated that one could not live on scenery and fresh air. The feeling in this area was that if people continued to leave, there would be no taxpayers left within a very few years. Who would then pay for the schools, roads, etc.? The government must assist this area and provide jobs, they said.

#### FAMILY D

#### SUMMARY

Mr. D. is unemployed, 63 years of age and the father of nine children. The eldest daughter is a nurse's aide and the 21-year old son is unemployed. The other children are in school. An aged grandmother lives with the family. Their 11-room house is in poor condition. They obtain their water from a well and have the usual electrical conveniences. The home is 1-1/2 miles from school and 20 miles from the doctor and hospital.

Their monthly income averages \$66 in wages plus \$56 Family Allowance, \$75 Old Age Security and \$160 earnings from the eldest daughter.

The average monthly income per person is \$29.75.

The D. family are bitter and discontented with their lot in life. In a sense they are oriented to change but the atmosphere of despair is very present. Because of their despair, the age of the father and the negative attitudes expressed, there appeared to be little likelihood of change without considerable outside help.

#### INTERVIEW REPORT

Mr. D. works five months of the year for the Department of Lands and Forests. He enjoys this work but finds it pretty hard for a man of his age. He would change jobs if he had a choice, and would be satisfied with anything as long as he was able to make a decent living, but his age was a handicap. He said most of his neighbors were making out with their incomes but their families were not as big as his. He felt he should be making \$15 a day to meet his obligations. He considered himself lucky to have the government job, but said he might not have it next year as it was the result of politics. He thought if he got steady work he could fix his barn and house, pay his bills and get on his feet again.

The family attends the odd card social at the church, and also funerals and weddings, watch television and visit the neighbors. The elder son and daughter may go to a dance occasionally. They felt they had pretty good neighbors who were always ready to help if they were sick or in trouble. Mr. D. said that if the farm were running and he could get

along financially he would find it hard to move away, but he would consider moving for the children's sake if the opportunity presented itself.

Mrs. D. said there was a Home and School Association, Catholic Women's League, Brownies and Girl Guides. They felt unable to attend very often, but Mrs. D. liked these organizations. They met people from other communities there. One girl was in the Brownies and another in the Girl Guides. They felt that this enabled the girls to get training in every way, such as helping others, helping themselves and learning manners and religion.

They were satisfied with local schools. Mr. D. considered them as good as city schools, but Mrs. D. thought city schools gave children a better chance. They felt that children living in the country required as much education as city children. Mr. D. thought the government was doing its very best as far as education was concerned. They have a daughter who would like to go to college, but Mrs. D. said the cost was too high. She would like to see assistance given to such children.

Mr. D. did not know of any public policies on fishing. He thought the government was doing its very best to encourage people in agriculture and that it was looking into the matter of forestry at the present time. He said the government might and should put restrictions on cutting young trees. Bulldozers were ruining hundreds of young trees in getting to the larger ones.

Mr. D. held quite well-formed opinions on education and welfare. He said the government was training people in trade schools. He believed that quite a few people received Old Age Assistance, the Old Age Pension or Disability Pensions. Most welfare was good enough, though sometimes he thought the "heads" of it were a little strict and didn't look fully into situations. He didn't think people looked down on those receiving assistance, but felt it was human nature for people to look down on the poor.

Mr. D. thought health services were good, and government-run hospitals were very good. Doctors never refused their service and were not demanding to be paid at a set time, but he would like to have a medical and hospital care plan for medical expenses. He thought the government should take an interest in the dental and eye care facilities in this area.

Mr. D. felt that this community was getting along just as well as other communities, except where there was industry. He would like to see somebody start an industry there; government should subsidize some company to come in. He said there was all kinds of hardwood, birch and beech that could be used by a factory there to make things that were imported from other countries. He would also like to see the government give the poor man who was willing to work a loan to pay his bills and get back on his feet again. This loan would be repayable at fair terms. He thought the poor people were being ignored by church and state through no fault of the people.

This family was very bitter against the country for what had happened to them. Their conditions are poor. The house needs immediate repair, but they do not have the money for it. Mr. D.'s age is against him and his working days are numbered. He wondered what was going to happen to the children. Would they be able to get an education or learn a trade?

The \$75 monthly pension received by the elderly lady goes into the family budget, and without it they would be in pretty dire straits.

If he could afford it, Mr. D. would go anywhere and his family would be willing to go with him. Lack of money and age were the two major obstacles he saw to moving.

#### FAMILY E

#### SUMMARY

Mr. E. is 58 years old and disabled. He has 12 dependent children ranging from infancy to 16 years. They live in an older farmhouse that is in fair condition, with 12 rooms and the usual facilities. They have a radio, television, telephone, washing machine, refrigerator and car. They are three miles from the school, 25 miles from the doctor and 19 miles from the hospital.

The income for 14 people is \$90 Provincial Social Assistance and \$74 Family Allowance. The average monthly income per person is \$11.71.

Attitudes expressed by the E. family suggest a high orientation to change, but the size of the family, the health of the father and restricted income make planning difficult. Considerable outside help, both financially and in services, is needed by the E. family.

#### INTERVIEW REPORT

Mr. E. is unemployed, having suffered a heart attack four years ago. His wife is receiving the Disability Allowance.

The E.'s visit neighbors and friends, attend weddings and funerals, and watch television. They cannot afford to do anything else. They have good neighbors who give the E.'s clothes whenever they can. Mr. E. said he would like to leave the area if he were well enough. Mrs. E. agreed with him.

Mr. and Mrs. E. mentioned the Red Cross, the Department of Welfare and the Health Department as major organizations. They said these organizations assisted people with money, health services and clothing, but were unable to elaborate on them.

The E.'s were satisfied with the local schools, and with the teaching staff, and said their children needed a good education in order to secure good jobs. They felt that the local schools were on a par with city schools.

Mr. E. believed there was assistance given to farmers for cutting limestone, and also deficiency payments on wool for sheep raisers. He

had never heard of any government training programs for the area.

The E.'s believed that quite a few received welfare assistance in the community. Mrs. E. wondered how the \$90 maximum allowance for disability was arrived at. She said, "If you have four children you received \$90, if over four, still \$90. We have 12 now, therefore how do we feed the other eight?" Mr. E. would not seek assistance if he were able to work. He thought it was a poor way to bring up a family.

They said health costs were expensive in Inverness County; drug prices were high and a house call by a doctor cost \$20. Welfare paid for eye examinations but not for the glasses. All their children needed dental care, and they thought there should be mobile clinics.

The E.'s felt that all communities were pretty much the same. A lot of people were leaving communities because they lacked work. The E.'s considered towns and cities had better facilities and more jobs.

The E. family are in pretty bad shape. Their income enables them only to exist. They probably would be a good family to put more money into as they seem to realize the value of it and could probably manage it well. Mr. E., before his heart attack, worked for the Dept. of Highways, but said that due to a change in government he lost his job, and this seemed to be the beginnings of his troubles.

Mrs. E. said Inverness County should be made into one big park. The people should be relocated in other areas where jobs were available.

A few families could remain as caretakers of the area. They expressed a need for an old people's home in the community, and an industry or factory of some kind, such as a paint or boat factory. They also felt that farmers needed help.

Mr. E. would move, but is unable to. He would prefer to remain in Inverness County. Mrs. E. would like to move to the U.S.A. but the family would move to any place where things were better.

#### FAMILY F

#### SUMMARY

Mr. and Mrs. F. and three children are dependent on Old Age Security, Social Assistance and Family Allowance. Mr. F. is 76 years of age, his wife is much younger, and they have three children. They live in an old, seven-room house that is falling down. They heat the home with oil and wood. Water is obtained from an outside well. Mrs. F. has an old washer and refrigerator.

The average monthly income per person is \$20. Two older sons stay at home but they do not earn enough to pay for their board. The dependency cycle appears to be well started in this family. Their housing is deplorable, the father's educational level is Grade I, and there is despair on the part of Mrs. F. in particular.

The orientation to change in this family is extremely low.

Considerable outside help is required immediately.

INTERVIEW REPORT

Mr. F. has a small farm and the only stock is one old cow. He worked his farm and took odd jobs until 12 years ago, when he fell sick and never worked outside the farm again. Mr. F. never went past Grade I in school. He is now very feeble.

Mrs. F. has a Grade VI education. She is 51 years old and not in the best of health, and receives \$50 a month Social Assistance from the Province of Nova Scotia. She said that their income was insufficient, and if the boys would go away and get work, she would go and live with them. Their house is very old and they do not have the money to make repairs. Mrs. F. said that the province would not let her have any more money and her husband could not do any work.

Throughout the interview, Mrs. F. was on the verge of crying. She said she would go out to work if she could get a job. She would live anywhere if she could just have a decent income. The only work she felt she could do was housework. But Mr. F. is very ill and at present she has to look after him.

The F.'s are Roman Catholic and all attend church. Mrs. F. said that she played cards and went to the odd bingo game. If anyone died in the neighborhood, everybody went to the wake. She visited the neighbors and they were all friendly.

The two older boys said they went to the tavern about once a week and there was not much more to do in the area.

Mrs. F. said that she would find it hard to move away because all her friends were there and also they had no money. But, for her children's sake, she would leave if her husband were well and they should have a higher income.

The children belong to the Junior Red Cross at school. Mrs. F. belongs to the Catholic Women's League. She considered that she got a great deal of pleasure from this group and that they did a good job.

One of the boys stated that the council was not doing a good job and they never gave them any work. They hired men from outside the area to work on the roads, and there were no other jobs except at the pulp mill in Port Hawkesbury. The boys stated that the government did nothing about employment in this area. When the mill was built men from outside the community were hired.

Mrs. F. said that Social Assistance and Old Age Assistance were a great help but the province should pay her more. She added that the children were going to a good school and the teachers were interested in them.

Mrs. F. felt that people did not look down on them for taking welfare. She thought that the province handled all welfare in the area and she knew nothing about municipal assistance.

Mrs. F. said that the doctors in the area were very good and would come to see Mr. F. if they were called. She knew nothing about the price of drugs because they had not bought any for years.

Mrs. F. felt that the people were very close in the community, and everyone got along all right, but there was no work for the young men. At the same time, it was stated that there was a lot of work cutting pulp, but they had to work too hard.

#### FAMILY G

##### SUMMARY

Mr. G., 46 years old, is a part-time farmer. He has 10 dependent children. The family lives in a five-room shingled, old home in fair condition. The water is supplied from an indoor tap. They have electricity, a car, washing machine, refrigerator and radio. The home is located one mile from the elementary school, six miles from the high school and 20 miles from the hospital and doctor.

Mr. G. estimated his monthly income as \$25 from farming, \$61 in other wages and \$60 Family Allowance. The average income per person per month is \$12.16.

Mr. G. is discontented with his way of life and is oriented to change. He considered he was still young enough to make a move. It appears that he needs outside help either to change within his environment or to relocate

in another area.

INTERVIEW REPORT

Mr. G. was not satisfied with his present work as part-time farmer and doing odd jobs around the area. He wished his work were year-round, but much of it is for only 6 or 8 months, depending on when the snow comes. He said he would change jobs if he could remain there, but would not go to the city or town. He would like to be a carpenter, but did not feel he would have the opportunity to get the trade, and could not see where he would get the training. He said that his present income was not sufficient to enable his family to live in the way that they should, but it compared with the incomes of his friends and neighbors.

The G.'s do not participate much socially. As Mr. G. said, "When you are working you don't have too much time to do anything". He likes hunting and fishing. The G.'s go to some card parties connected with the church, to weddings of close relatives and funerals of people they know. They felt that there was fair feeling among the neighbors. Mr. G. said, "You can't get along with everybody." Some neighbors were willing to help but some were not. The G.'s would find it hard to move away because they like it there and consider the country a better place to live.

Mr. G. said he used to be a member of the Canadian Legion and Mrs. G. of the Women's Auxiliary of the Legion, but they left because they couldn't pay the dues. They also belonged to the Home and School

Association at one time, but now feel that people don't want it.

The G.'s were satisfied with the local schools. They thought the teachers were doing a good job. They were in favor of consolidated schools. They thought one couldn't expect county schools to be as good as city schools, but the schools were better than ever before. There were better transportation and gym facilities.

Mr. G. was generally satisfied with health services. He thought the cost was all right, but he did not like the doctor's habit of making people wait until the office was full before he arrived. He said there was no dental service and not even a good dentist available.

This community was the same as other rural communities, according to Mr. G., but there was more industry and work in towns and cities. There was a great lack of work in the area. He felt there should be more employment and more steady employment. He would like to see some factory or mining outfit established there.

Mr. G.'s income is about equal to his estimate of monthly expenses. However, he supplements his family needs by keeping a few chickens and lambs. If he did not do this he would not be able to feed his family properly. He has a large family, and appears willing to work at anything to provide for them. Mrs. G.'s health is not good and the eldest girl is being kept out of school to look after the other children.

## FAMILY H

### SUMMARY

Mr. and Mrs. H. have nine young children. They have always lived in the area. Last fall Mr. H. built a small house with two bedrooms and a kitchen. Two stoves supply the heat, and wood and oil are used as fuel. The inside of the house is not finished, and they have no inside plumbing, but they do have electric light.

Mr. H. never went to school. Mrs. H. has a Grade VIII education. Since the age of 15, Mr. H. has worked in the woods. He has a part-time job at the paper mill that pays about \$1,200 a year. When he is not working at the plant, he is in the woods cutting pulp. He said he cleared \$1,200 last year cutting pulp. The average income per month per person is \$25.20.

This is a family that does reasonably well in familiar surroundings. They are not inclined to risk moving to an urban area. They are oriented to change within their environment and have shown initiative and a capacity to introduce changes in their ways of earning a living and their housing.

### INTERVIEW REPORT

Mr. H. said that he liked his work at the mill and enjoyed cutting pulp wood. The pay was good and his income was sufficient; it was good compared to that of his neighbors. He hoped to be employed at the plant

on a full-time basis. If more boats had to be loaded, it would be better and he could work steadily. Also, if the weather were good, he could cut more pulp. Mr. H. said that he could do nothing to improve matters but keep on working. He liked to work and would take any job that was steady and in the district.

Mr. H. said his family belonged to the Anglican Church but they never attended. They had no car and the church was too far away. They played cards once in a while, and sometimes his wife would go to watch television at a neighbor's home. The neighbors were very good. The family would find it hard to move away and had no intention of making a move.

Mr. H. said he belonged to the Credit Union, a good organization. There was a welfare office in Port Hawkesbury. However, he said that he had no experience with the welfare organization.

Mr. H. expressed general dissatisfaction with conditions of work. Single fellows and men from outside came into the area and got all the jobs. He knew of people getting pensions and working full-time at the mill. He felt that these conditions should change and people with large families should have first choice at any job.

Mr. H. said that all schools in the area were good and the children had good teachers. They were as good as the city schools. He wanted his children to get a good education. However, he did not expect his boys to

continue in school; in another couple of years they would be able to help him in the woods.

He stated that the public health nurse called several times and that she was a fine person. According to Mr. H. the doctors were very good and they had a hard job. He had never had to buy drugs and did not know how expensive they were.

Mr. H. said he got along well in the community and his children liked the neighborhood. It was a good community and conditions were just as good as anywhere. He said he did not plan to move elsewhere and would not even consider it under any terms. He said his family was too large for that and he had no education.

#### FAMILY I

#### SUMMARY

Mrs. I. is a widow with eight children ranging in age from 4 to 17 years. Two boys who attend high school board with her. She has an 11-room, new home in good condition, with the usual facilities and a refrigerator, washing machine and television. Both elementary and high schools are located within 3/4 mile of the home. The doctor is 20 miles away and the hospital 35 miles.

The family's monthly income is \$90 provincial social assistance, \$60 Family Allowance and \$80 that Mrs. I. receives for boarding the boys.

The average monthly income per person is \$19.45.

Mrs. I. is an enterprising woman who has assumed heavy responsibilities since her husband's death. She is clearly interested in long-term goals and is highly oriented to change.

#### INTERVIEW REPORT

Mrs. I. receives a widow's allowance. To supplement her income she boards two boys attending school in Judique, and is paid by the county for this. Even with this extra income, she felt that she was just about breaking even, and would like to take at least two more boarders next school-term.

She said that if she had no dependents she would not live in a rural area, but would probably return to New York City where she worked for 4-1/2 years before she was married.

Mrs. I. said that relations among the neighbors were very good, probably better than in a city or larger town. They helped out at weddings, funerals, etc., and she saw them at the weekly card games at the Church Hall on Sunday. They also visited each other regularly.

She said she was a member of the Altar Society. She felt that some groups, such as Boy Scouts, Guides, etc., should be started in the area.

She takes four of the children for regular check-ups at the hospital in Antigonish, and to the Children's Hospital in Halifax for special

treatments. For regular services she considers the Inverness hospitals were sufficient.

Mrs. I. felt that the school system in the area compared favorably with other areas and towns. The nuns and lay-teachers gave the children good training. The worst of it was that when they finished school they had to leave for larger centres of employment as there was nothing to keep them in the district.

She felt that Social Assistance was too small and should be increased. She was not familiar with local welfare or how it was administered.

Mrs. I. said that she would like to supplement her income, so that she could make some repairs to the upstairs of the home. The home was fairly new, and neat and clean in spite of the limited income. She seemed to be a cheerful woman and one would not think that her children's health caused her a great deal of work.

Mrs. I. would not consider moving away from the area under her present circumstances.

#### FAMILY J

#### SUMMARY

Mr. J. and his wife are both 56 years of age. They have three teenage children attending school. They live in a sub-standard dwelling

consisting of two bed-rooms and a kitchen. They obtain their water from a spring. Their only convenience is a transistor radio. They are located 10 miles from a bus. The school is 10 miles from their home and the children go there on the school bus. It is 24 miles to the doctor and hospital.

The monthly income in the family is \$10 from pulp cutting, \$26 Family Allowance and \$50 general municipal assistance. The average monthly income per person is \$17.20.

Mr. J. is drifting through life without much ambition and little interest in change.

#### INTERVIEW REPORT

Mr. J. is employed occasionally, has never obtained any regular employment and appears to have little desire to work. His wife was extremely discouraged with their way of life. His only work is in the woods as a cutter, or doing general odd jobs throughout the district. He has been regularly on assistance from the municipal welfare agency, which supplies groceries and clothing valued at \$50 per month. He likes only rural living and would like to buy a farm if he could raise the capital. He has Grade IV education and his experience is limited to work on the farm or in the woods. His income is marginal and lower than that of most neighbors. He has approached his municipal councillor to obtain employment, but has not shown much interest in the jobs offered. He has also asked for an increase

in the welfare allowance.

The J. family have few interests other than listening to the radio or watching television at a neighbor's house. They have reasonable relationships with their neighbors and have neither the desire nor the money to move from the area. They are not members of any groups or organizations and have little contact with anyone except their immediate neighbors.

The family consider municipal welfare assistance as necessary. Mr. J. would like to see the grant increased, as he finds it difficult to maintain his home on the present amount. This \$50 grant is paid to the general store, which provides groceries and clothing.

Mr. J. likes living in this environment and considers his community acceptable. He has little experience of other areas and can see no advantage in relocating. With his limited education, he cannot assess the school system but from the general opinion of the community concludes that academic standards are good.

Mr. J. has not made use of medical services for two years because the doctor and hospital are 23 miles away. He has no opinion to offer on dental care.

There are limited opportunities for employment and he will encourage his children to leave the area to find employment after completing school.

FAMILY K

SUMMARY

Mr. K. is a 71-year-old, small storekeeper. His wife is much younger, and they have four children. They live in a 10-room, old farm-house that is in fair condition. They have indoor plumbing and a bath, and the usual appliances - radio, television, washing machine, refrigerator and telephone.

The children travel 10 miles to school. It is 45 miles to a hospital and 10 miles to the doctor.

Mr. K. estimated his monthly income from the store at \$60. He receives \$75 Old Age Security and \$30 Family Allowance. The average monthly income per person is \$27.50.

Mr. K. felt he was too old to consider any changes either in his present employment or by moving to a new area. The opportunity for change is not great, and although he has a young family, it appears that he will live out his time in his present surroundings.

INTERVIEW REPORT

Mr. K. felt that the income level in the area was low, and he could not make a good living from his store because the people could not afford to buy. The only thing that would improve his condition was for others to obtain employment.

He claimed that he was too old to find another job. He said that he liked working in the store and had no desire to live elsewhere. However, his income was insufficient and he needed at least another \$100 a month to provide adequately for his family.

Mr. K. said that his little store was a gathering place for the area and that he had many friends. He went to church every Sunday. They held summer dances in the parish hall and had varied entertainment. Television was the main entertainment in the evenings. The only time they went out together was to church and dances. He thought that the neighbors were very friendly, and if a person was in need, they would come and help.

Mr. K. said that his wife belonged to a church society. He felt that the Home and School Association was too far away and that people would not travel 15 miles to a meeting. He thought that many people would go hungry if it were not for municipal assistance. He said that a public health nurse travelled the area. Provincial assistance was a great help in his area. According to Mr. K. a great many people were on assistance. Some were receiving Old Age Security.

He said they had a good school system and the children received a good education. He thought that this helped them to get good jobs. A trade school in the area would help those who were unemployed.

He thought they received good service from the doctor, but wished

they had a small hospital in the area.

Mr. K. is a lot older than his wife, and has tried to raise a family late in life. He finds it a burden to provide for the family. However, the home is neat and tidy. Mrs. K. would find it hard to find time for work outside the home.

Mr. K. said he would not move away from his place of birth.

#### FAMILY L

#### SUMMARY

Mr. L. is a 50-year-old, self-employed woodcutter with a D. V. A. Disability Allowance. He has eight dependent children in school. Living with the family is a disabled sister of Mrs. L.

The house is an 11-room, frame structure, recently built and in good condition. They have the usual facilities and appliances in the home, including a bath, electricity, television, radio, washing machine, refrigerator, telephone and a car.

The children travel 3/4 mile to school. It is 20 miles to a doctor and 35 miles to the hospital.

The family's monthly income is \$250 from pulpwood sales, \$42.40 D.V.A. pension, \$66 Family Allowance and \$40 board from Mrs. L.'s sister. The average monthly income per person is \$39.84. The monthly payments on credit plans is \$145 per month.

They are content with their circumstances. Although the husband has to work hard in the woods, he prefers the rural way of life and is not strongly in favor of change.

INTERVIEW REPORT

Mr. L. sells his pulpwood to large buyers. This gives him a certain amount of independence. The disadvantage, he felt, was that the rewards were not proportionate to the hard work he put into it. The woodcutter has to submit a contract to the buyer, or company, and they return the contract, stating how much pulp they will buy in a certain period and quoting prices. The woodcutter depends to a degree, on the central pulp-purchasers for the amount of money he makes.

Mr. L.'s partial D. V. A. pension shows that he is not in the best of health. His wife wished that he were able to get lighter work. They have not thought too much of where they would like to live, but said that they were quite satisfied with their present location.

There are not as many informal meetings or visiting in the community as there used to be, although the good friendly feeling remains. All the neighbors readily help out at wakes, funerals, etc. The reduction in visiting may be due to television.

The L. family are not much involved in local organizations. He is a trustee of the school and Mrs. L. is a member of the Altar Society. They felt that the hospitals in Inverness gave good services,

although the distance of 35 miles was too great if something serious happened. Mrs. L. cited, as an example, a year ago when her husband cut his foot at work and had to travel 20 miles to get a doctor in Port Hawkesbury to stitch the cut. For this reason, a doctor should be in the area at least on a part-time basis. She felt that the doctors from Port Hawkesbury were not too anxious to travel the distance to see a patient, and they usually tried to get patients to go to see them. They also thought they needed a dentist.

They felt that educational facilities were good, but the young people had to move away after finishing school. The young girls took a typing course in high school, and then had to leave the area and go at least as far as Port Hawkesbury to work.

This family probably enjoys a higher standard of living than the average family in this rural area and the rural county of Inverness. Although the total family monthly income is higher than would usually be called insufficient, they have a large number of dependents in the home and there is a heavy direct cash outlay each month.

The L.'s have a preference for rural living. They like the community and neighbors, as well as the life. They have a large family and this would impede any re-location. They have not given very much thought to the type of work that would be better for Mr. L., only that the work should be easier than his present employment.

PARTIE III

CHOIX DE RAPPORTS D'INTERVIEWS

Les douze rapports d'intervieweurs qui suivent font ressortir certaines des situations, attitudes et sentiments dont nous avons tenté de faire la synthèse dans la deuxième partie. Ces rapports ont été choisis à cette fin et non pour la qualité de leur style. Nous avons tenté d'en retirer quelques-uns de chacun des groupes de "sources de revenu" tout en touchant les divers types d'occupation. Nous nous sommes souciés aussi de ne pas nous arrêter uniquement à des cas de dépendance chronique, mais surtout à ceux qui présentent des possibilités d'amélioration. Pour respecter l'engagement pris par les intervieweurs de ne pas divulguer les noms de familles, nous avons pris soin d'omettre les noms des personnes et des lieux.

FAMILLE A

RESUME

Cette famille de neuf personnes loge dans une habitation de six pièces relativement confortable.

Le père est agé de 42 ans et son revenu mensuel per capita se chiffre par \$27.44. Il a terminé ses études en sixième année.

Ce fermier a contracté des dettes pour fin de rénovation et sa

terre ne donne pas tout le rendement qu'elle pourrait, faute d'équipement suffisant. Il est très attaché à sa terre et ne voudrait pas quitter la localité où il habite.

#### RAPPORT D'INTERVIEW

M. et Mme A. sont propriétaires d'une ferme au centre du village de X.

Ce sont des gens très fiers qui aiment bien le travail de la ferme. M. A. affirme qu'il aime mieux travailler à \$5 par jour sur sa terre plutôt qu'à \$15 par jour à l'extérieur. Selon lui, les seuls inconvénients du travail à la ferme, c'est que "ce n'est pas assez payant". Il croit que les fermiers devraient recevoir des octrois du gouvernement pour ne pas être obligés de travailler à l'extérieur. Même s'il en avait le choix, il ne changerait pas de travail.

Il y a environ 15 ans, il a acheté la ferme de sa mère pour \$5,000. Une fois ce montant remboursé, il a dû emprunter en deux occasions pour fins de réparation. Il paye encore.

Ces gens ne veulent pas déménager de X et encore moins quitter la ferme. Ils croient avoir plus de difficultés financières que leurs voisins à cause de leur famille nombreuse et de leurs bas revenus. Il faut retenir que M. et Mme A. vivent dans le village et que leurs voisins sont des marchands ou des ouvriers. M. A. constate qu'il travaille plus fort qu'eux, mais que ses revenus sont moindres.

A cause de son attachement, voire même de son entêtement à élever des animaux qui ne rapportent pas et à cultiver une terre non fertile, M. A. ne cherche pas trop pour d'autre genre de travail et se prive ainsi de revenus supplémentaires. On peut dire que l'amour de la terre l'empêche d'améliorer sa situation financière. S'il avait plus de revenus, M. A. affirme qu'il achèterait un tracteur neuf et réparerait sa grange. Il achèterait plus d'animaux, les nourrirait mieux et augmenterait ainsi ses bénéfices.

Ces gens s'entendent très bien avec leurs voisins et amis et ils se rendent de nombreux services. A cause de leurs nombreux enfants et surtout à cause du manque d'argent, ils ne vont pas aux bingos, aux danses ou dans les hôtels. Ils assistent aux offices religieux et de temps à autre, ils vont à un mariage. Lors de notre interview, Mme A. a reçu la visite de deux de ses voisines et nous avons pu constater l'esprit de bonne entente qui existait.

Mme A. assiste régulièrement aux réunions du Cercle des fermières; elle aime bien cette organisation qui lui fait rencontrer des gens. Ils assistent aussi aux réunions de l'Association parents et maîtres et M. A. fait partie de l'Union catholique des cultivateurs. A ces réunions, M. A. rencontre des gens qui ont les mêmes problèmes que lui et parfois, ils réussissent ensemble à résoudre leurs problèmes. Il apprécie beaucoup le travail de ces associations.

Ces gens sont assez au courant du travail fait par les organismes de l'extérieur tels que l'Unité sanitaire, le Service social, etc... Ils n'ont pas de commentaire à faire sur ces organismes, sauf qu'ils ont semblé fiers de ne pas être obligés de recourir à l'aide du Service social: "nous autres, on réussit à se débrouiller".

Une augmentation récente de 12 pour cent du taux des taxes scolaires leur semble exagérée. Ils reconnaissent les besoins des commissions scolaires et la nécessité de bien payer les professeurs, mais "il faudrait trouver de l'argent ailleurs". Le Conseil municipal fait un travail satisfaisant. D'après M. A. "le gouvernement devrait faire quelque chose pour éviter que les taxes augmentent".

M. et Mme A. voudraient que leurs enfants reçoivent une bonne instruction et que les garçons apprennent un métier. Ils aimeraient qu'un leurs fils demeure sur la ferme.

M. A. trouve que les taxes sont plus élevées à X qu'en d'autres municipalités et que les industries n'y sont pas assez nombreuses. Il revenait continuellement sur la situation déplorable des fermiers et ils souhaiterait que le gouvernement leur vienne en aide.

FAMILLE B

RESUME

Cette famille de sept personnes habite une ferme dont la maison et les bâtiments sont en très mauvais état. Il n'y a pas d'eau et de toilette à l'intérieur. Les écoles sont situées à trois milles de la ferme. Cette famille, dont le père n'a complété que sa première année, a un mode de vie peu actif et a peu d'ouverture vers l'extérieur. Ses membres ne veulent pas quitter l'endroit et le père estime qu'il ne peut aller ailleurs en raison de son âge et de son manque d'instruction. D'ailleurs, il aime la terre.

Etant donné la non rentabilité de cette terre, il semble que ce couple deviendra bientôt à la charge de l'Etat. Cependant, il y aurait peut-être des dispositions à prendre pour orienter les enfants, en particulier un fils de 22 ans qui aide son père et dont l'instruction laisse à désirer.

RAPPORT D'INTERVIEW

Cette famille est établie sur une terre à l'entrée de X, sur les rives de l'Outaouais.

Au premier coup d'oeil, ce n'est pas très invitant. D'abord la route à la maison n'est pas déblayée et la maison et les bâtiments sont en très mauvais état. A l'intérieur, c'est extrêmement pauvre. Une table et de nombreuses chaises. Dans le milieu de la cuisine, un énorme poêle à bois.

Monsieur habite cette terre depuis l'âge de 13 ans. C'est une terre de 125 arpents. Environ 100 arpents, sur le bord de la rivière, sont inondés durant toute l'année. Les autres 25 arpents sont situés dans le flanc d'une montagne, et pratiquement couverts de roches. Malgré tout, monsieur parvient à garder onze vaches.

Le relief de ce morceau de terre nous démontre bien qu'il est normal que ces gens en arrachent. D'ailleurs cette terre aurait dû être abandonnée depuis longtemps. Monsieur a été élevé là et il ne veut pas quitter. Il nous raconte qu'au début, il y a quarante ans, cette terre à bois était très prospère. Son père engageait les hommes à la centaine. Il possérait la plus belle terre à bois du coin. Aujourd'hui, il ne serait pas profitable de couper le peu de bois qui s'y trouve, parce qu'il est trop petit.

Cependant, monsieur se nourrit d'espoirs. "Si la température pouvait s'améliorer, ça pousserait, depuis trois ans nous n'avons pas de bonne température." Monsieur nous dit qu'il n'a pas d'autre façon de vivre et que même s'il en avait le choix, il ne changerait pas. Il est heureux sur une terre. "Du moins, on n'a pas direct de faim, on a de la viande et notre petit jardin." D'ailleurs, son âge et son état physique ne lui permettent pas d'espérer autre chose.

Le fils de 22 ans est supposé aider son père. Nous lui demandons pourquoi il ne tente pas de trouver un emploi à l'extérieur. "J'aime ça la terre, ça me suffit, d'ailleurs, je n'ai pas d'instruction." En effet, ce dernier

a commencé l'école à l'âge de 10 ans. Il n'avait pu commencer ses études avant parce que l'école avait brûlé et qu'il n'y avait pas d'autobus scolaire à cette époque pour aller ailleurs.

Enfin, Monsieur affirme qu'il pourrait peut-être vivre mieux avec un emploi supplémentaire, mais qu'il est impossible de trouver du travail. Evidemment, il se considère beaucoup plus pauvre que ses voisins. La plupart ont de belles terres et travaillent à l'extérieur.

Ces gens n'ont pas un mode de vie très actif. Leur seule sortie est pour faire leurs emplettes au village. Aussi, ils aiment bien lorsque la mère de Madame vient les visiter. Pour autres divertissements, on regarde la télévision. C'est pratiquement leur seul mode de communication avec l'extérieur. Au sujet des organisations locales, ils ne les connaissent pas. Après leur en avoir énumérés quelques-unes, ils nous disent: "Ah! ça c'est bon à rien, c'est bon pour l'église." Et ils changent le sujet de conversation.

Selon Monsieur, le Service social c'est une bonne chose mais c'est surtout pour les journaliers. Les gens n'arriveraient pas sans cela. Cependant, on pourrait aider beaucoup plus le cultivateur, surtout l'hiver. Il avoue même qu'il faudrait aider davantage le Service social à poursuivre son oeuvre. "On devrait même taxer les gens. En effet, cette taxe serait de l'argent en banque lorsqu'on est mal pris."

Monsieur aime bien le premier ministre de sa province, surtout depuis qu'il a institué l'assurance-hospitalisation. Il se dit prêt à payer

n'importe quelle taxe pour une telle chose. Monsieur ajoute que le gouvernement devrait voir à ce que les médecins ne chargent pas trop cher. C'est le gouvernement qui devrait les payer et nous taxer en retour.

Sur le plan scolaire, Monsieur avoue que l'éducation est aussi bonne ici qu'ailleurs. Cependant, il ne comprend pas trop le système de la régionalisation scolaire. D'après lui, ce n'est pas pratique parce que les frais de transport sont trop élevés; cet argent devrait servir directement à l'éducation. "Nos enfants doivent avoir une aussi bonne instruction que les enfants des villes. On en arrache trop à cause du manque d'instruction."

Enfin, il déplore l'inertie du Conseil municipal qui n'aide pas assez les gens. "Cet hiver, ils n'ont même pas organisé de travaux d'hiver." Les années passées, on a trouvé ainsi de l'emploi à 300 hommes. En pratique, ça revient à la municipalité d'aider les pauvres.

Selon eux, les autres municipalités du comté ne réservent pas un meilleur sort à leurs concitoyens. Partout il y a des gens en difficultés financières. La raison: "c'est le gros qui mange le petit et on demeure impuissant devant ceci."

#### FAMILLE C

#### RESUME

C'est dans une maison de quatre pièces qu'habite cette famille de 11 personnes dont le père a 45 ans et la mère, 42 ans. Cette famille vit du

revenu du père qui est camionneur et dont le per capita mensuel s'établit à \$31.89. La mauvaise température impose à cet homme un chômage de six mois par année. En dépit de cela, cette famille n'a pas eu encore recours aux services de bien-être.

Depuis de nombreuses années, cette famille songe à quitter le Québec pour aller d'établir en Ontario où habitent les frères et soeurs de Monsieur qui arrivent très bien à se débrouiller. Monsieur est le seul à être demeuré au Québec et il en arrache malgré toute sa bonne volonté.

Cette famille pourrait profiter du programme de prêts ou de subventions pour s'établir ailleurs.

#### RAPPORT D'INTERVIEW

Mme C. était seule dans la maison avec ses deux jeunes enfants. L'extérieur est de bois noirci et d'apparence très pauvre, mais à l'intérieur tout est en ordre, très propre et assez bien fini. Toutefois, cette maison nous a semblé plutôt petite pour loger onze personnes.

Mme C. nous expliqua qu'elle aimait mieux attendre l'arrivée de son mari avant de répondre à nos questions, mais elle se montra immédiatement loquace lorsque nous lui avons demandé d'expliquer le travail de son mari.

M. C. est camionneur. Il possède un camion de trois tonnes avec lequel il transporte le bois. Il travaille environ six mois par année. Les six mois qu'il est sans emploi, c'est à cause du dégel printanier qui dure de

la fin de février au début de juin, et aussi du manque de travail. Mme verbalisa beaucoup sur leurs difficultés financières et affirma qu'elle était prête à déménager n'importe où, à condition qu'il y ait du travail pour son mari.

Mme C. explique qu'ils en arrachent énormément, mais elle n'a jamais eu recours au Service social de Hull. Elle sait qu'un représentant de ce Service vient au village et que certaines familles pauvres en bénéficient. Elle croit qu'elle va être obligée de se renseigner davantage et de demander de l'aide si son mari ne parvient pas à travailler à Y, ce printemps.

Mme C. était fière de dire qu'elle avait 11 enfants vivants. Les deux filles aînées de la maison sont mariées et elles demeurent à Z. Elles ont de bon maris et elles vivent assez bien.

Au sujet du fils de 18 ans, celui-ci travaille dans un moulin à P., à raison de \$40 par semaine. Il voyage matin et soir avec des amis. Il doit parcourir un trajet de 10 milles pour se rendre à son travail. Après avoir défrayé son transport, sa pension et ses dépenses personnelles, il ne peut réussir à épargner en vue de son mariage. Madame déplore le fait que les salaires sont trop bas. Elle aimerait bien que ses enfants ne soient pas obligés d'aller travailler si loin, mais à X et sur le côté du Québec, il n'y a aucun débouché pour les jeunes de l'endroit. Tous les jeunes sans exception prennent la direction de P., en Ontario.

Tous les jeunes sont attirés par l'Ontario pour plusieurs raisons.

En premier lieu, à cause de leur langue; même s'ils portent des noms français, et qu'ils sont d'origine canadienne-française, ils se débrouillent beaucoup mieux en anglais qu'en français. D'autre part, le marché du travail et les salaires semblent beaucoup plus avantageux du côté de l'Ontario que du Québec. En dernier lieu, la proximité de X auprès de P. en Ontario, leur fait presque oublier qu'ils demeurent dans Québec.

Pour tous leurs besoins, si X ne peut leur donner satisfaction, ils vont en Ontario. Au point de vue éducation, X est bien organisé. Il y a une école secondaire anglaise, française et une école normale. Au sujet des soins médicaux, X a son petit hôpital et ses médecins. Pour les cas sérieux, les gens se rendent à P.

Au sujet de son fils de 16 ans, cette mère regrette qu'il ait abandonné ses études. Il n'y a pas d'emploi à X et elle le trouve beaucoup trop jeune pour le voir s'éloigner. Quant son mari travaille, le fils lui aide, mais il leur arrive souvent de chômer. Selon elle, X et les environs n'offrent aucune possibilité d'emploi pour les jeunes filles qui sortent de l'école. "La meilleure chose à faire c'est de les tenir à l'école le plus longtemps possible. Quand elles y sortent, elles se dirigent inévitablement vers P. en Ontario en quête de travail. Or c'est pénible et inquiétant pour une mère de voir partir ses jeunes filles vers la ville, loin des parents, sans surveillance; c'est une des raisons pourquoi tant de jeunes filles de la région deviennent enceintes."

Au sujet de ses six plus jeunes enfants, tous des garçons, cette

mère expliqua qu'ils étaient tous en bonne santé, et que ceux qui étaient d'âge scolaire allaient bien à l'école.

Elle songe depuis des années à déménager en Ontario "mais ce n'est pas facile avec une si grosse famille". Elle voudrait déménager n'importe où pourvu que son mari ait du travail; cela signifie pour elle un milieu anglais et selon toute probabilité en Ontario.

Madame expliqua que son mari était le fils d'une famille de 13 enfants. Tous furent élevés à X. Maintenant, douze de ses frères et soeurs demeurent en Ontario et ils se débrouillent beaucoup mieux que son mari.

Mme C. affirme qu'il y a à X des clubs sociaux et diverses autres organisations, mais elle s'est trouvée incapable d'en donner les noms et leur objectifs. Membre du Cercle des fermières, elle ne se rend pas cependant à leurs assemblées.

A part les hôtels, elle soutient qu'il n'y a rien pour les loisirs de la jeunesse à X.

Selon elle, il est plaisant quand même de vivre à X parce que les gens et les voisins sont aimables en dépit de la pauvreté qui assaille les familles.

#### FAMILLE D

#### RESUME

Cette famille de 14 personnes habite une vieille maison qui dispose

de plusieurs commodités: électricité, radio, télévision, etc. Le père a complété sa 4e année. Il est opérateur de machine pour la Voirie.

Son travail est permanent, mais l'hiver il doit exécuter un travail de journalier et il se trouve donc moins rémunéré qu'en été. Le per capita mensuel de cette famille s'établit à \$19.70. En raison du moindre salaire du père, la famille contracte durant l'hiver des dettes qu'elle n'arrive pas à acquitter.

Malgré la misère et l'insécurité, cette famille semble assez bien intégrée à son milieu. Toutefois, ses activités sont conditionnées par son manque de revenu. L'instruction des enfants est leur plus grande préoccupation.

#### RAPPORT D'INTERVIEW

La famille "D" habite une grande maison recouverte de tôle et de bonne apparence. L'intérieur est convenable, mais le mobilier est restreint et vieux. Les vêtements de la mère et des enfants reflètent fidèlement leur pauvreté.

Madame a soutenu avec franchise et sincérité que le nombre des enfants demeure la principale cause sociale de leur insécurité. L'attitude de Madame vis-à-vis ses petits était toute délicate.

Madame nous a décrit leur situation financière avec une certaine angoisse, mais il y avait un reflet d'espoir. Son mari travaille pour le ministère de la voirie du Québec. Son travail est plus ou moins rémunérateur

selon la saison. En été, monsieur est opérateur de machine, ce qui lui vaut un salaire plus élevé. En hiver, il touche \$160 par mois, en été, il touche beaucoup plus, soit \$230. Durant l'été, ils réussissent à se tirer d'affaires, mais en hiver, ils contractent des dettes.

C'est là un problème majeur chez les D. Le jour où ils auront payé leur maison, ils pourront respirer plus à l'aise et peut-être réussiront-ils à bouclier leur budget. Nous avons pu constater le courage qui anime la famille "D" et leur désir de réussir.

Cette famille ne s'isole pas pour autant. Elle essaie de tirer le meilleur parti possible de sa situation non seulement à l'intérieur d'elle-même, mais aussi dans ses relations sociales et dans son intégration à la communauté. Elle a de très nombreuses relations sociales. Ces relations se partagent avec les parents, les voisins et les amis. Leurs rencontres régulières prennent une allure chaleureuse et amicale. On discute un peu de tout, mais spécialement des difficultés financières. Durant ces réunions, on s'amuse fermement et sobrement.

Leurs relations et leurs sorties sont toujours conditionnées par leur état financier. Madame nous avoue ne pas fréquenter les "bingos", non par manque de goût, mais par manque d'argent. Il en est ainsi pour les enfants qui aimeraient jouer au hockey, mais qui en sont empêchés à cause des difficultés de transport.

Madame nous dit fréquenter l'église. Elle est, semble-t-il, animée d'un grand esprit religieux. Elle puise beaucoup de courage dans sa

foi et c'est peut-être là la source de son épanouissement.

Monsieur participe aux activités de la Ligue du Sacré-Coeur, Madame s'est jointe au Cercle des femmes fermières, ce qui lui donne l'occasion de rencontrer des gens et d'établir avec eux des contacts.

M. et Mme D. se font un devoir de participer aux réunions de l'Association des parents et maîtres. Madame nous dit que ces réunions les aident à éduquer leurs enfants tout en les aidant eux-mêmes. Ils sont très satisfaits des services que leur offrent l'Unité sanitaire et le Service social. Ce dernier leur est venu en aide durant le chômage prolongé de Monsieur.

La grande préoccupation de la famille "D" est l'instruction des enfants. Monsieur veut voir ses enfants réussir. Il entrevoit chez l'un, certaines aptitudes pour la mécanique et espère pouvoir l'orienter vers ce métier. Encore là, ses difficultés financières assombrissent le tableau et le placent dans une incertitude vis-à-vis l'avenir de ses enfants.

Malgré ce tableau plutôt sombre, on serait porté à croire que les "D" quitteraient volontiers et sans hésitation leur petit patelin, mais ils y demeurent attachés. Il existe des sentiments d'intimité, de fraternité qu'on ne retrouve pas souvent dans les grandes villes ... "Ces gens, disent-ils, offrent volontiers leurs temps et leurs biens pour aider les familles éprouvées." A ce sujet, ils ont vécu une expérience toute particulière: leurs dettes étant très élevées, ils ne savaient trop comment s'en sortir... un

homme généreux a réglé la note. Toutefois, Madame n'hésiterait pas à quitter ce milieu pour aller vers une meilleure destinée.

### FAMILLE E

#### RESUME

Cette famille de huit enfants habite une maison construite avec du bois de rebut. Cette maison d'une seule chambre à coucher ne possède aucun revêtement intérieur ou extérieur. Un revenu de \$152 par mois est assuré par l'assistance sociale. Le père et la mère sont analphabètes et peu débrouillards. Alcoolisme. Extrême pauvreté.

Ils souffrent d'un complexe d'infériorité à cause de leur manque d'instruction et de leur pauvreté. Ils n'ont même pas de vêtements convenables pour aller à l'église le dimanche. Ils ont toutefois l'ambition de voir leurs enfants compléter leur 7e année, ne réalisant pas que de nos jours, il faut une instruction plus poussée que cela. Ils croient que le gouvernement devrait prévoir de l'emploi pour des gens comme eux.

#### RAPPORT D'INTERVIEW

Nous avons été bien reçus et M. et Mme E. se sont montrés prêts à collaborer en autant qu'ils le pouvaient. Le père s'est empressé d'ajouter: "je ne sais ni lire, ni écrire, car je ne suis jamais allé à l'école. J'ai été élevé dans un chantier. Ma femme, comme moi, ne sait ni lire, ni écrire. Elle aussi fut élevée dans un chantier au lac Z."

Cette famille de huit enfants habite une maison que Monsieur a construite en 1964. Il n'y a pas de divisions au deuxième étage et tous couchent dans la même pièce. Il n'y a pas d'électricité, ni téléphone, ni télévision, mais seulement une radio défectueuse. Il y a quatre chaises branlantes pour 10 personnes. Aucun revêtement à l'intérieur. On voit le jour à travers les fentes des murs. Après une demi-heure d'entrevue, Monsieur et Madame tremblaient de froid.

Le Service social de Hull accorde à cette famille \$152 par mois. Cette assistance est administrée par le maire de l'endroit, propriétaire d'une épicerie, et qui s'assure que la famille ne manque pas de l'essentiel.

Madame aime demeurer à X et ne veut pas en sortir. Monsieur souhaite obtenir de tout coeur du travail. M. et Mme ont toujours souhaité s'établir sur une terre, mais sans succès. "Malgré des conditions de logement si misérables, d'affirmer Madame, nous ne sommes jamais tombés malades."

M. E. est illettré et peu débrouillard. Toutefois, il faut signaler qu'il a toujours réussi à faire vivre sa famille jusqu'en 1963, sans recourir à l'assistance financière du Service social de Hull. Cependant, en mai 1963, à cause d'un empoisonnement de sang à la jambe, il a dû demander l'aide du Service social. Après deux mois d'assistance, il reprenait le travail comme journalier au moulin à bois de X, à raison de \$1.25 l'heure soit un salaire de \$60 par semaine. Depuis décembre 1963, il est sans emploi. Il a travaillé

quelques journées ici et là comme journalier au moulin ou sur les fermes, mais il n'a jamais retiré plus de \$30 ou \$40 par mois.

Monsieur explique qu'il a de plus en plus de difficultés à se placer sur le marché dur travail, à cause de son âge et parce que l'industrie du bois dans le comté est moins prospère qu'autrefois.

Un de ses fils ne va pas à l'école et il ne parvient pas à se trouver du travail. La mère nous a laissé entendre qu'un autre garçon n'était pas très brillant et qu'il ne travaillait pas. La famille E. croit qu'elle est parmi les plus pauvres de X, mais de fait, plusieurs familles de X sont presqu'aussi pauvres. Toute cette pauvreté dépend du chômage.

"Le peu d'ouvrage qu'il pourrait y avoir est confié aux jeunes. Il vient un moment qu'on se décourage et on ne sait plus quoi faire. Quand on n'a pas d'instruction, ni argent, on ne peut pas penser à aller vers les grands centres et les villes où il y aurait peut-être plus de chance de trouver un emploi." Sa femme ajouta à cette affirmation de son mari: "Pourquoi aller en ville, la ville nous dit rien, on ne veut pas y aller pour tout l'or du monde. On est bien ici dans X. Il manque seulement du travail. Autrement, on serait parfaitement heureux."

La famille E. croit que le gouvernement devrait faire quelque chose pour donner du travail à tout le monde. Lui-même, ses frères et beaux-frères ainsi que ses grands garçons et grands neveux voudraient travailler, mais ils ne trouvent pas d'emploi.

Monsieur est d'avis que le monde est mal organisé et qu'il ne revient pas aux pauvres et aux non-instruits de trouver les moyens pour faire travailler tout le monde. Ce sont les autorités, et le gouvernement qui sont en mesure de faire quelque chose en ce sens.

Leurs deux gendres sont un peu instruits et possèdent des emplois stables. Les parents sont bien fiers de leurs filles. Ils souhaitent que leurs enfants puissent aller à l'école au moins jusqu'à la septième année afin d'être en mesure de trouver un emploi et de se débrouiller plus facilement qu'eux dans la vie.

Ils s'entendent bien avec tout le monde et leurs voisins sont aussi pauvres qu'eux. Mme E. nous affirme qu'elle peut nous donner les noms d'au moins 25 chefs de famille qui sont en chômage.

La famille E. fréquente leur parenté immédiate et Madame est heureuse lorsque sa fille de P. vient la visiter. D'autre part, la participation sociale de la famille E. semble nulle en ce qui regarde la politique, l'administration municipale, les organisations religieuses, scolaires, agricoles et sociales. Ils manifestent un sentiment d'infériorité à cause de leur niveau d'instruction et s'éloignent d'eux-mêmes de toutes les organisations sociales. "on est même trop pauvre pour aller à la messe le dimanche. Les enfants y vont."

### FAMILLE F

#### RÉSUMÉ

Cette famille de six personnes habite une maison d'une seule pièce, de construction récente, recouverte de papier goudronné. Elle est pourvue des services d'eau à l'intérieur, mais la toilette se trouve à l'extérieur. Le poêle à cuisson sert aussi au chauffage de la maison.

Le père, âgé de 35 ans, est bûcheron de son métier et a terminé sa 4e année. Il a subi un accident de travail il y a cinq ans et depuis cette époque, il a dû recourir à l'assistance publique. Il se cherche de l'emploi, travaille de temps à autre chez des fermiers, mais n'arrive pas à se trouver un emploi stable.

Ces gens ne veulent dépendre de personne. Ils songent à quitter la campagne pour venir s'installer à la ville. Ils ont peu d'occasion de se divertir et ne font partie d'aucun groupe structuré.

#### RAPPORT D'INTERVIEW

La famille F. demeure dans une petite maison qui appartient à la mère de Madame. Il y a un réfrigérateur, une lessiveuse, une T. V., une table, quelques chaises, deux lits. Tout était agréablement arrangé et très propre. Le seul enfant qui n'était pas à l'école était très propre et convenablement vêtu.

Depuis qu'il a subi un accident, Monsieur cherche du travail stable,

mais sans succès. Il n'a aucune préférence; il accepterait du travail n'importe où. Madame croit que c'est le manque d'instruction qui empêche son mari de se trouver un emploi. Le métier de bûcheron, dit-elle, commence à décliner. Cependant, la construction d'un réseau d'aqueduc à Y présente certaines possibilités.

La famille a quitté Y, mais sans trop de succès puisqu'ils habitent une maison d'une seule pièce et que Monsieur est encore en chômage. Ils s'inclinent devant cette situation et songent à quitter leur milieu pour aller vivre en ville. Madame se dit heureuse malgré ses difficultés. L'assistance sociale est nettement insuffisante surtout lorsqu'ils doivent faire face à la maladie. Selon eux, cette assistance diminue leur liberté et est une cause de gêne, surtout pour son mari.

Leur parenté se trouve à Y. Ils fréquentent leurs soeurs et leurs mères et ils discutent entre eux de leurs difficultés. Ils n'entretiennent que très peu de contacts avec les voisins. Le beau-frère de Monsieur croit pouvoir lui trouver du travail à la ville, mais il faudra, semble-t-il, attendre au mois de mai.

Parfois Madame F. se décourage, mais elle ne veut pas déranger personne. Elle nous dit: "moins qu'on se voisine, moins il y a de chicanes."

Ils ne font partie d'aucune organisation. Madame ne veut pas se joindre au Cercle des fermières parce qu'elle n'y connaît personne. Elle ne connaît aucune autre organisation. Il n'y a pratiquement pas de

divertissements. Seule la T.V. apporte quelques distractions.

Selon Madame, le gouvernement pourrait procurer plus de travail afin que les familles puissent subvenir à leurs besoins. Elle attribue leurs difficultés au manque d'emploi, mais aussi, et surtout, au manque d'Instruction de son mari. Elle aimerait faire instruire ses enfants et espère bien que le gouvernement se chargera d'en défrayer le coût.

Somme toute, ces gens vivent au jour le jour. Ils espèrent avoir moins de difficultés le jour où Monsieur parviendra à se trouver un emploi stable.

#### FAMILLE G

#### RESUME

Ce couple habite un flot de pauvreté, où le développement économique est presque nul.

Monsieur est barbier de son métier. Il est bénéficiaire de l'assistance publique car la maladie l'empêche d'entreprendre tout travail ardu, dit-il. Il serait disposé à aller demeurer ailleurs afin d'améliorer sa situation financière.

#### RAPPORT D'INTERVIEW

Cette famille composée actuellement de M. et Mme G. vit dans une immense maison construite il y a plusieurs années. Cette maison est propre et accueillante.

Une section de la maison est louée à raison de \$25 par mois. Une autre section sert de salon de barbier à M. G. Etant malade, Monsieur ne peut pas travailler régulièrement et son salaire n'est que de \$25 par mois. Ils reçoivent en plus \$105 par mois du Bien-être social.

M. G. aime son travail de barbier et souhaiterait avoir un revenu suffisant pour subvenir à des besoins. Il en est empêché par la maladie et aussi par le fait que les gens sont trop pauvres pour se faire couper les cheveux.

S'il en avait le choix, il aimeraient devenir "enquêteur", c'est un rêve qu'il caresse depuis longtemps. Naturellement, pour devenir enquêteur, il lui faudrait une meilleure santé et aussi, il devrait déménager dans une ville.

A cause de son travail de barbier, Monsieur a la chance de renconter des gens mais, précise-t-il, il ne se mêle pas beaucoup aux voisins. Il rencontre ses amis à l'église le dimanche.

Ni lui, ni son épouse ne vont aux bingos, au cinéma, dans les hôtels et restaurants. De plus, ils ne pratiquent aucun sport et n'y sont nullement intéressés. Par contre, ils aimeraient se divertir de temps à autre, si leur situation financière le permettait. Ils aimeraient faire comme leurs voisins et aller dans les grands magasins d'Ottawa. M. et Mme G. ne se connaissent pas d'ennemis et s'entendent bien avec leurs voisins. X est leur place natale, la plupart de leurs parents habitent ce village et tous leurs amis sont ici. Par

contre, ils déménageraient n'importe où afin d'améliorer leur situation.

Madame est membre de la Société des Dames de l'église. Quant à lui, il semble avoir quelque connaissance en médecine et parfois il exerce ses talents en ce domaine. Ses activités à l'église semble l'occuper une bonne partie de son temps. Il nous a affirmé être un fervent croyant. Il est aussi secrétaire d'un parti politique, mais cette fonction ne prend pas beaucoup de son temps.

La région est bien desservie par le Service social et M. et Mme G. sont satisfaits de cet organisme. L'école est bien organisée jusqu'en 9ème année, mais il n'y a pas d'école secondaire protestante; alors les jeunes doivent se rendre soit à B., L., M ou O. pour poursuivre leurs études.

L'Unité sanitaire de B. dessert la région de X. Il n'y a pas de police municipale. Ils sont desservis par la police provinciale qui vient de M., soit à 20 milles de X.

Monsieur est satisfait du travail accompli par le conseil municipal de X. Il souhaiterait que les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux contribuent aux travaux de la municipalité; de cette façon, la municipalité pourrait construire des trottoirs et installer un système d'égouts. Monsieur croit qu'un système d'égouts attirerait des industries à X.

Il est très heureux de voir que le gouvernement s'intéresse au bien-être des gens, par exemple, dans son entourage, presque tout le monde reçoit une allocation du gouvernement: allocation familiale, pension de vieillesse ou

pension du Bien-être social. Selon lui, cette aide gouvernementale ne fait que confirmer la grande pauvreté qui sévit dans la région.

Il constate que X est une région isolée: il n'y a ni industrie, sauf la coupe du bois, pas d'eau courante, pas de médecin, pas de clinique pour les malades. M. G. est d'avis que plusieurs personnes sont dans la misère à cause de leur faute. Ils boivent et sortent beaucoup et s'ils ne réussissent pas à boucler leur budget, ils en imputent le blâme au coût élevé de la vie.

Leur fils unique a trouvé du travail comme commis à M; il ne pouvait pas se trouver d'emploi à X.

La famille G. a des dettes et une bonne partie des argents qu'elle reçoit doit servir à faire des versements sur leurs emprunts.

#### FAMILLE H

#### RESUME

Le père de cette famille de sept enfants est un pêcheur et a un revenu annuel d'environ \$3,000. Mais ce travail est saisonnier et il doit avoir recours à l'assurance-chômage. Cet homme n'est pas "pauvre" au sens ordinaire du mot et le per capita mensuel de la famille est plus élevé que la moyenne du groupe, \$44.77. Alors que ses voisins vont gagner leur vie dans les villes voisines, il se débrouille sur place. Il a des idées sur l'organisation économique de son village. Il voudrait ouvrir un garage et souhaiterait obtenir un prêt du gouvernement à cette fin.

## RAPPORT D'INTERVIEW

Cette famille possède leur maison. M. et Mme nous ont reçu dans une très grande cuisine très bien rangée. Les deux époux ont été très accueillants et ont répondu volontiers à nos questions.

M. possède un travail saisonnier, il s'adonne à la pêche commerciale sur la rivière X. Il possède un contrat avec une compagnie de Kingston à qui il vend le poisson à la livre. Il fait surtout le pêche à l'esturgeon et à la barbut qui se vendent 0.15 cents la livre. Le caviar de l'esturgeon est très rare et se vend \$4 la livre. Tout ce poisson est vendu aux Etats-Unis. Nous lui demandons pourquoi il ne vend pas son poisson directement. Monsieur avoue que ce serait beaucoup plus payant, mais qu'en vendant son poisson directement, il ne toucherait pas d'argent immédiatement.

Il retire environ \$3,000 par année de ce commerce. Les revenus vont en diminuant. Il y a 25 ans, la pêche était meilleure. Depuis qu'on a construit un barrage, la quantité de poissons a considérablement diminuée. En plus d'affecter la pêche commerciale, ceci affecte énormément l'industrie du tourisme. On pourrait selon lui améliorer la situation en installant des grillages au barrage, de manière à empêcher le poisson de se faire déchiqueter.

Monsieur aime bien ce métier, mais ce n'est pas tout le monde qui peut se le permettre. On doit posséder un bateau d'une certaine dimension, des filets et un moteur. Aussi c'est un travail très difficile et le poisson est

de plus en plus rare.

S'il en avait le choix, Monsieur aimerait posséder un garage.

Monsieur nous demande alors si le gouvernement ne pourrait pas lui venir en aide en lui prêtant de l'argent. Présentement, il en a un en vue mais on lui demande \$15,000. C'est alors que nous lui demandons pourquoi il ne trouve pas un emploi dans un garage. Il nous répond que même s'il connaît parfaitement la mécanique, il ne possède aucun diplôme et ainsi on ne lui offre que \$1.25 de l'heure. Il en gagne autant avec la pêche et son assurance-chômage. S'il pouvait se procurer un garage, il pourrait très bien vivre. Il aimerait posséder une terre, mais cette entreprise requiert des investissements trop élevés.

En général, on parvient à élever convenablement sa famille mais il faut économiser pour arriver. Ils parviennent à vivre aussi bien que leur voisins. Evidemment, la plupart des gens de Y doivent aller gagner leur vie à Hull ou à Ottawa. Ceux qui restent sur place et qui vivent bien sont surtout des cultivateurs.

A X, il n'y a que très peu de divertissements. Il y a le bingo hebdomadaire, mais Madame ne peut se permettre d'y assister, à cause de sa situation financière. On ne s'occupe pas tellement des voisins. La plupart des parents demeurent à Y et on se fréquente régulièrement. Trois de ses fils qui voyagaient soir et matin ont préféré aller s'établir à Ottawa et à Hull.

Au sujet de la coopérative, deux hommes y sont employés, mais

selon Monsieur elle n'est pas bien organisée pour vraiment aider les cultivateurs.

Le Service social possède un bureau à X. Peut-être aura-t-il besoin de recourir un jour aux services de cet organisme, mais il croit que sa fierté l'en empêchera.

Sur le plan scolaire, Monsieur n'est pas du tout satisfait. Il ne veut pas mettre en cause la qualité de l'éducation car selon lui, elle se compare sur tous les rapports aux grands centres. Mais il s'objecte à ce que l'on enseigne le cours secondaire en anglais. En effet, si une famille veut que ses enfants poursuivent leurs études en français, ils doivent se rendre à B., à 35 milles plus loin. Les enfants quittent leur domicile à 7 heures le matin et ne reviennent qu'à 5 heures 15 de l'après-midi, cela est ridicule.

Selon lui, cette situation ne dépend pas uniquement des autorités scolaires, mais bien de l'indifférence de la population française de la région qui semble avoir honte de sa langue. Environ le quart des familles françaises de X envoie leurs enfants à l'école anglaise. Si ces gens manifestaient leur mécontentement vis-à-vis cette situation, on aurait une école secondaire française à X. Selon Monsieur, c'est vraiment indignant. Quant à lui, il envoie ses enfants à B.; jamais ils n'iront à une école anglaise. En dépit de tout cela, il est en faveur du bilinguisme.

Pour ce qui est du Conseil municipal, la seule réalisation est la

Construction d'un système d'égouts. Depuis, la municipalité est dans une impasse financière et les taxes ont augmenté. De plus, le Conseil est entièrement composé de l'élément anglais. Parce qu'il est français, Monsieur n'oserait pas en faire partie et soumettre des propositions. Selon lui, le Conseil devrait voir à l'organisation communautaire tant sur le plan du loisir que sur le plan économique. C'est à eux qu'incombe la tâche de soulager la misère.

Monsieur et Madame ne sont pas du tout satisfaits de la situation entre la famille et la communauté. Pour leur part, ils sont français et la communauté est en majorité de langue anglaise. Et selon eux, ce problème est commun à tout le comté. Il y a plusieurs familles qui ont des difficultés, mais l'extrême misère n'existe que chez les gens peu débrouillards et peu courageux.

### FAMILLE I

#### RESUME

Voici le cas d'un père de famille de 53 ans qui a subi un accident de travail il y a plusieurs années et qui aurait pu profiter, semble-t-il, de réadaptation professionnelle, si l'occasion lui en avait été donnée. Comme concierge, il a un revenu de \$185 par mois. Sa femme gagne, pour sa part, environ \$18 par mois. Il s'est adressé à plusieurs endroits pour obtenir de l'emploi plus spécialisé, mais on lui dit qu'il n'est pas assez instruit. En

effet, il n'a complété que sa quatrième année.

L'incertitude semble limiter la participation sociale de ces gens.

Un de leurs fils a fréquenté l'école technique et gagne aujourd'hui un bon salaire.

#### RAPPORT D'INTERVIEW

Monsieur travaille comme concierge. Il ne travaille pas toute la journée car il n'y a pas assez de travail. Monsieur pourrait difficilement travailler ailleurs, car il a subi un accident de travail il y a plusieurs années.

Il aurait pu trouver un emploi à l'hôpital, mais à tout compter, il était plus profitable de demeurer à X avec un salaire moindre.

Madame a reçu la pension des mère nécessiteuses après l'accident de Monsieur et a été secourue par l'aide sociale. Depuis six ans, monsieur travaille régulièrement. Il gagne actuellement \$185 par mois. S'il avait de l'instruction, il pourrait arriver, en dépit de son infirmité.

Madame travaille et gagne en moyenne \$18 par mois. La famille doit se priver afin d'assurer l'instruction des enfants. Il n'y a pas beaucoup de mesures pour aider les infirmes à se trouver un emploi. Les mines de la région ne veulent pas l'embaucher, mais il admet leurs raisons.

Monsieur n'aime pas tellement son travail de concierge. Il aimerait être chauffeur de bouilloires ou opérateur de machines, mais il n'y a pas de débouché pour ces différents emplois. Monsieur a essayé partout à B., au Bureau de placement et à divers endroits. Il n'est pas assez instruit.

lui dit-on. Il a cherché du travail à Ottawa, mais sans succès. Alors qu'il travaillait dans les mines, il y a 22 ans, Monsieur a réussi à se construire une maison.

Monsieur se dit très fier de son fils de 24 ans qui est soudeur. Il a dû faire bien des sacrifices pour défrayer son cours technique. Monsieur est très attaché à son milieu, mais il n'hésiterait pas à déménager s'il était possible d'obtenir un travail plus rémunérateur ailleurs.

Il y aurait selon lui possibilité d'exploiter davantage les terrains miniers et procurer du travail aux gens de la région.

Monsieur possède quelques cochons et une vache et il cultive un jardin. Selon lui, sans les animaux, le jardin, il ne pourrait que difficilement arriver. Madame trouve difficile de travailler à l'extérieur, car elle doit alors négliger sa propre maison.

Monsieur a de bonnes relations. Il rend visite à ses frères et à ses soeurs une ou deux fois par année. Quant aux voisins, il les rencontre que rarement.

Il existe au sein de la famille un esprit de bonne entente. Le garçon que monsieur a fait instruire et qui présentement travaille à S. a un salaire très élevé; ce fils lui a acheté une automobile neuve en guise de remerciements.

Dans les alentours, il n'y a aucun divertissement. Déjà il y avait des rencontres entre amis, mais depuis l'avènement de la T. V., il n'y en a

plus. Les jeunes jouent au hockey, au ballon balai. Monsieur est Lacordaire depuis 10 ans. Auparavant lorsqu'il buvait il n'y avait plus de fin. Il entretient de bonnes relations avec les voisins.

A cause de sa surdité, Monsieur ne participe que très peu aux activités sociales de la région.

Le Service social lui a déjà aidé, il y a deux ans. Madame ne fait partie d'aucune organisation.

Pour lui, il n'y a rien comme l'instruction "c'est comme la vue pour une personne". Monsieur veut que ses enfants reçoivent une bonne instruction quitte à se priver de tout.

#### FAMILLE J

#### RESUME

Cette famille composée de 10 personnes habite une maison de six pièces d'assez bonne apparence. Les écoles se trouvent à un mille du domicile. Le plus vieux des huits enfants n'a que 14 ans et le père est l'unique gagne-pain. Il est camionneur et gagne \$55 par semaine lorsqu'il est au travail, c'est-à-dire, pendant sept mois et demi par année environ. Le per capita mensuel de cette famille s'établit à \$27.50.

Le père a déjà possédé un camion mais il a dû le revendre en raison de versements trop élevés. Il aurait voulu devenir cultivateur, ou encore menuisier. Le père de cette famille ne pourra guère améliorer son sort s'il

n'a pas l'occasion d'apprendre un métier. Il semble qu'il pourrait en profiter, car il n'a que 38 ans et possède de l'ambition.

#### RAPPORT D'INTERVIEW

Dans cette région, l'industrie du bois et du camionnage semble prédominer. Cependant, c'est un travail saisonnier et il y a de nombreuses périodes de chômage. Habituellement, Monsieur commence à travailler tard à l'automne et termine vers la fin de l'hiver. Entre temps, il travaille à temps partiel. En tout, il travaille environ sept mois et demi par année. Il y a quelques années, Monsieur s'était acheté un camion. Durant trois ans, il ne s'en est servi que huit mois. Aussi, il a dû le revendre à cause des versements trop élevés.

Monsieur ne semble pas satisfait de sa situation. Si le milieu s'y prêtait, il désirerait être menuisier. Mais en plus de la région qui ne favorise pas ce genre de travail, il ne possède pas les outils nécessaires et n'a pas l'argent pour se les procurer. Cependant, son idéal premier serait de devenir cultivateur; il a même songé à s'expatrier pour arriver à ce but. Mais il est très difficile de se trouver une bonne terre, et le manque d'argent annule toutes ses possibilités.

Présentement, il gagne \$55 par semaine. Evidemment à ce salaire, il éprouve beaucoup de difficultés à fournir les premières nécessités à sa famille. Un \$20 additionnel par semaine serait absolument nécessaire dans son cas.

Les salaires sont très peu élevés dans la région. Quelques-uns seulement parviennent à se tirer d'affaire. Présentement les possibilités d'emploi sont restreintes; les salaires sont au minimum et il en coûte très cher pour se nourrir et se vêtir.

Rien ne semble retenir cette famille dans cette région si ce n'est qu'ils y sont nés et que tous leurs parents y demeurent. Ils n'éprouveraient aucune difficulté à s'éloigner de leur région.

Pour se divertir, on joue aux bingos, on va au cinéma ou on joue aux quilles. En général, les gens ne se côtoient presque pas. Chacun a sa petite besogne et ne semble pas se préoccuper de son voisin.

Les associations locales sont peu nombreuses et les gens ne veulent pas s'en occuper. D'ailleurs, pour faire partie d'une organisation quelconque, il faut de l'argent et l'argent est rare. Donc, les gens abandonnent. Madame a refusé de faire partie du Cercle des femmes fermières, à cause des frais que cela peut entraîner. Présentement aucun membre de la famille ne fait partie d'une organisation.

L'an dernier, M. et Mme ont voulu organiser avec l'aide financière du curé des ligues d'hockey et de ballon sur glace. Afin d'augmenter les fonds, M. et Mme ont tenté d'organiser un bingo, mais sans succès. Ils ont tout de même continuer avec le peu qu'ils avaient. Cependant, les jeunes gens ont brisé les patinoires et le peu d'équipement qu'ils avaient. Ils ont rencontré les parents des jeunes en question, mais les parents ont

refusé d'accepter la responsabilité. D'autre part, Madame a tenté d'organiser des soirées dansantes pour les jeunes, mais les gens de l'endroit s'y sont opposés.

Cette région est desservie par le Service social, par les cliniques de santé, par les écoles et le conseil municipal. En général, on semble satisfait de ces organismes. Cependant, tout ceci n'améliore pas l'économie de la région et les groupements sociaux.

#### FAMILLE K

#### RESUME

Voici une famille qui a quitté une région du Bas St-Laurent pour venir habiter la région de l'Outaouais. La famille se compose de sept enfants, du père et de la mère. Elle habite une maison que le père a construit lui-même, sans aide aucune. Le père est manoeuvre dans un moulin. Le revenu per capita se chiffre à \$25. Durant la saison morte, l'assurance-chômage fait vivre la famille. La scolarité des parents est peu élevée: la 5e année.

Ces gens semblent dépayrés dans un milieu qui, sans leur être hostile, leur est étranger car ils n'en connaissent ni n'en comprennent les moeurs.

#### RAPPORT D'INTERVIEW

En arrivant à la résidence de Monsieur K, nous cherchons un

chemin pour accéder à la maison mais nous ne trouvons qu'un petit sentier dans la neige.

Nous observons une maison nouvellement construite d'une bonne apparence. Il nous fallut entrer par l'arrière car la porte d'en avant est fermée l'hiver. L'accueil est très chaleureux et nous faisons remarquer à Monsieur et à Madame K. la propreté qui règne dans leur maison. C'est là que Monsieur nous dit qu'il a construit lui-même cette maison. Cette famille est arrivée à X, il y a environ deux ans et demi. Monsieur a déboursé \$300 pour l'achat du terrain et a dessiné les plans lui-même. Il n'a eu recours à aucun ouvrier. Nous remarquons une bonne répartition des pièces. Nous jugeons tout de suite de sa grande débrouillardise. Il dit qu'il est bon ouvrier et qu'il veut obtenir sa carte de compétence.

De quelle façon Monsieur K. fait-il vivre sa famille? D'abord, Monsieur ne travaille à X que depuis deux ans environ. Il travaille comme manœuvre dans un moulin à scie. Il aime bien son ouvrage, mais préférerait travailler comme menuisier. D'abord, les salaires seraient plus élevés et il aurait un emploi plus stable.

Cette famille demeurait auparavant en Gaspésie. Du temps qu'il vivait là, Monsieur travaillait aussi dans un moulin à scie et comme bûcheron. Les salaires étaient insuffisants et l'endroit peu prometteur. C'est à la suite d'une visite dans le comté qu'il a décidé de venir s'y établir.

D'après eux, les voisins et amis ont un revenu à peu près analogue.

Monsieur affirme qu'il peut se tirer d'affaire sans avoir recours au ministère de la famille et du bien-être. Le gros des dépenses sont consacrées pour l'achat de la nourriture et des vêtements. On a ensuite de légères dettes qu'on accumule pour l'amélioration de la maison. Monsieur dit qu'il s'endette l'hiver, mais qu'il réussit en été à équilibrer son budget.

D'une façon générale, nous remarquons que ces gens sont quelque peu dépayrés. Ils signalent que la mentalité ici est complètement différente de celle de la Gaspésie et que les gens n'ont pas le même langage et les mêmes moeurs. Ils ne sont pas encore parvenu à se mêler aux voisins et à se faire des amis. Monsieur et Madame K. nous donnent l'impression des gens de "l'ancien temps".

Nous pouvons constater que ces gens ne sentent pas le besoin de sortir; ils ont leur bonheur dans leur foyer. Par contre, ils aimeraient s'adonner à des loisirs extérieurs, mais ils ont de la difficulté à d'adapter à ce nouveau milieu qu'on qualifie d'anglais. On rencontre les parents à l'occasion de la période des fêtes seulement. Nous pouvons dire que les relations avec les proches sont pauvres à cause du manque d'adaptation au nouveau milieu. La famille K. ne semble pas tellement enchantée de l'endroit où elle se trouve présentement. Cependant, comme leur demeure s'améliore peu à peu et qu'ils connaissent un peu plus de monde, ils aiment autant éléver leur famille à cet endroit.

Monsieur et Madame K. demeurent, semble-t-il, assez timides et

retirés du monde extérieur; même à l'époque où ils vivaient à Z, ils n'ont jamais fait partie d'aucune organisation. Ils ne voient aucune objection à prendre part à ces mouvements, mais le temps leur manque. On semble oublier que la société existe pour le bien commun de la personne. "Les activités de ce genre, c'est bon pour les gens instruits." Ils savent que ces mouvements existaient lorsqu'ils vivaient à Z, mais depuis qu'ils demeurent ici, ils ignorent complètement la marche des organisations locales.

D'une façon générale, on ne possède pas tellement de notions précises sur les services venant de l'extérieur. Les enfants vont à la classe et leurs résultats sont très bons. On est très satisfait du système scolaire. Ces parents disent que les enfants en savent plus long qu'eux et qu'ils profitent de cette occasion pour apprendre d'eux. Ils reconnaissent l'instruction est une chose essentielle de nos jours et ils veulent que leurs enfants poursuivent leurs études autant qu'ils le pourront. Monsieur nous dit: "y'a assez de nous autres qui n'ont pas eu la chance de se faire instruire."

Cependant, on a certaines critiques à porter sur les politiques gouvernementales au sujet du chômage. Monsieur nous laisse entendre que le gouvernement, au lieu de donner des allocations de bien-être social d'une façon presque gratuite, devrait faire travailler les gens. Lorsque les gens reçoivent l'assistance publique, ils passent leur journée dans la maison et se désintéressent du travail. De cette façon, on ne créerait pas autant de dépendance. Pour sa part, Monsieur dit qu'il n'a jamais eu besoin de

recourir aux services du bien-être social. Cela ne devrait exister, d'après lui, que pour les gens malades et invalides, qui ont une nombreuse famille. On est au courant de certaines familles qui perçoivent des allocations de bien-être social et qui n'en méritent pas.

Par contre, au point de vue des services sanitaires, ils n'ont rien à reprocher. Il faut dire que leur santé semble très bonne et qu'ils n'ont pas souvent à recourir aux services d'un médecin ou aller à l'hôpital.

En définitive, nous avons rencontré une famille pleine d'idéal et de bonnes intentions. Ce sont des gens très sympathiques avec qui il est très intéressant de converser. Nous sentons qu'ils sont encore imprégnés d'une mentalité typiquement canadienne d'autrefois. Aussi les veillées canadiennes d'il y a quelques années leur manquent beaucoup.

#### FAMILLE L

#### RÉSUMÉ

Il s'agit d'une famille de huit personnes. Les conditions d'habitation sont convenables. Le père et la mère ont une scolarité plus élevée que la moyenne des pères et familles que nous avons étudiées, soit une 6e et une 9e année respectivement. Le père est menuisier-finisseur, mais il est fréquemment en chômage. Le per capita mensuel de cette famille est plus élevé que la moyenne générale du groupe, soit \$41.25.

La participation sociale du père et de la mère est très active. Ils

sont propriétaires de leur maison et ne tiennent nullement à changer de milieu.

RAPPORT D'INTERVIEW

Monsieur est menuisier-finisseur. Il retire \$2.25 de l'heure lorsqu'il travaille en campagne et \$2.45 en ville. L'hiver dernier il est demeuré trois mois sans travail et il a dû demander l'aide du Service social. Il prévoit reprendre son emploi vers la fin d'avril.

Cette famille habite une grande maison construite par Monsieur. La maison a belle apparence et il semble bon y vivre.

Monsieur était absent lors de notre arrivée, mais son épouse nous a bien accueilli et elle a répondu de bonne grâce et intelligemment à nos questions. Les enfants étaient à la classe, sauf le plus jeune.

Madame L. nous a parlé du travail de son mari et elle nous a dit qu'il aimait réellement son métier: "Il fait ça comme un artiste."

Nous avons demandé à Monsieur pourquoi il ne déménageait pas à un endroit où il y a beaucoup de construction au lieu de demeurer à X. Mme L. nous a alors dit qu'ils avaient déjà songé de déménager à Cornwall, mais qu'ils n'avaient pas pu se décider. Presque tous les habitants du village ont un lien de parenté entre eux. Aujourd'hui, ils semblent heureux d'être encore à X car, d'après Madame, il y a autant de travail pour son mari dans la région d'Ottawa-Hull qu'à Cornwall. Maintenant qu'ils sont propriétaires, ils ne veulent plus déménager.

Leurs revenus seraient suffisants si son mari pouvait travailler durant toute l'année. Mme L. constate que du point de vue financier leur situation est aussi bonne que celle de leurs voisins. "Eux travaillent à la mine et n'ont que de petits salaires; nous, au moins, on fait un bon été."

Ces gens participent activement à la vie communautaire. M. L. est membre du Conseil économique régional. Il est aussi organisateur d'un parti politique en période d'élections.

Quant à Mme L., elle s'occupe activement de l'Association des parents et maîtres, section de X. "C'est fameux" nous dit-elle. "Une telle organisation aide nos enfants à l'école et nous pouvons discuter des problèmes d'éducation." L'A. P. M. groupe environ les trois quarts des parents de la paroisse et cette association semble faire beaucoup pour unir les gens de l'endroit. Mme L. est des plus intéressée à l'éducation de ses enfants: elle les aide dans leurs devoirs et suit leurs progrès. Elle voudrait qu'ils poursuivent leurs études le plus possible, car ils sont intelligents. Elle ne souhaite pas qu'ils prennent le même métier que leur père "pour ne pas qu'ils aient à chômer plus tard".

Elle trouve qu'ils ont de bonnes écoles à X: "depuis quelques années, le système des écoles est tellement amélioré." Elle ne peut pas les comparer avec les écoles de la ville car elle ne les connaît pas. "Les enfants de la campagne ont besoin d'autant d'instruction que ceux de la ville car, plus tard, ils auront le même genre d'emploi." Elle croit que, grâce

à l'A. P. M., l'équipement des écoles a été perfectionné. Elle nous a aussi raconté que plus de gens allaient aux réunions de l'A. P. M. lorsqu'il y avait un conférencier de l'extérieur suivi d'une période de discussion.

Dans la paroisse, il y a un Club athlétique qui organise des loisirs pour les jeunes de 7 à 25 ans.

Elle croit être une des rares personnes de l'endroit à s'entendre avec à peu près tout le monde. Ils aiment bien jouer aux cartes avec leurs voisins. Elle déplore le fait qu'il n'y ait pas de curé résident à X. "On ne peut jamais voir le prêtre, car il n'est là que le dimanche matin."

L'an dernier, la famille est allée trois fois au théâtre en plein air à Ottawa; les enfants adorent cela.

Comme nous l'avons mentionné précédemment, la plupart des gens travaillent à la mine. Les plus anciens ont un emploi stable, mais les plus jeunes sont souvent en chômage. Ils se tiennent alors au restaurant du coin et passent leur journée à flâner.

La famille L. rend visite trois ou quatre fois par an aux parents de Madame à C. Cependant, ils ne reçoivent pas souvent de visite car "les gens comprennent que ça coûte cher et qu'on n'a pas d'argent."

Cette famille est bilingue et les enfants apprennent les deux langues. Elle est abonnée au journal anglais d'Ottawa et au bulletin des agriculteurs. Ces gens ne sont pas trop intéressés aux nouvelles de la radio ou à la T. V.; ils préfèrent les films ou les téléromans à la T. V. Ils

ne font pas leurs achats à X car tout est plus cher qu'en ville et il y a moins de variétés. Ils vont à Hull ou à Ottawa, même pour acheter leur épicerie.

Monsieur M. aime bien demeurer à X. Madame nous dit qu'à chaque semaine, il s'achète une caisse de bière. Il ne sort pas seul et ne va presque jamais à l'hôtel. Quant à Madame, elle serait prête à déménager, mais elle ne voudrait pas déménager en ville car elle a toujours vécu en campagne.

X n'a pas de police municipale: "nous n'en avons pas besoin et ce serait une dépense inutile." Le Conseil municipal englobe les municipalités de X et de Y et ils sont satisfaits de son travail. Elle dit qu'il existe une certaine rivalité entre les Anglais et les Français de la municipalité. Tout de même "ça va assez bien".

Elle n'a pas tellement de commentaires à faire sur le Service social. Ils sont actuellement aidés par cet organisme et, jusqu'à date, ils trouvent que cette aide leur est d'un précieux secours. Ils ne connaissent qu'une autre famille qui reçoit de l'aide du Service social et selon eux, ces gens en ont bien besoin.

Ils sont enchantés du service donné par les médecins et par l'hôpital de W. "Notre service médical est peut-être meilleur qu'en ville car tout le monde est bien dévoué." Deux fois par année, les infirmières de l'Unité sanitaire de M. examinent les enfants à l'école. M. et Mme L. se disent chanceux de ne pas être affectés par la maladie.

Elle déplore le fait qu'il n'y ait pas de salle municipale; il faut qu'ils aillent en dehors lorsqu'il y a un mariage ou une fête quelconque. Aussi, il n'y a pas suffisamment de loisirs, sauf l'hôtel. De plus, s'il y avait une salle de quilles, "les jeunes auraient quelque chose à faire et ne passeraient pas tout leur temps au restaurant!".

Selon elle, il n'est pas normal que les familles aient des difficultés, car, dit-elle, "il y a toujours moyens de s'organiser".

SELECTED CASE STUDIES - LANARK COUNTY

A number of reports of particular family situations have been selected for inclusion according to the main sources and combinations of income. It was difficult to make choices from among the 77 reports because of the variety of situations encountered.

FAMILY A

SUMMARY

Mr. and Mrs. A. and their two sons live in a 100-year old house that is in fair condition. It has room heaters and a kitchen stove. Water is brought from an outdoor hand pump. There is no bath or indoor toilet. The family have no electricity, television or refrigeration. They do have a radio, car, washing machine and telephone. The nearest bus stop is 1-1/2 miles away, the primary school 1 mile, the high school 13 miles, and there are bus services to both. The nearest doctor and hospital are 13 miles away.

The income from farming and family allowances totals \$141 per month, or \$35.22 per person. Mrs. A. gave monthly expenditures of \$131.20.

INTERVIEW REPORT

Mr. and Mrs. A. like living on the farm; it is the only way of life

they have known. It is very hard for them, but they seem resigned to it. Both are over 50 and felt it was too late to make changes. Mrs. A. is quite lame and Mr. A. has stomach trouble. He felt that because his health was not good he was better on the farm.

Mrs. A. works with her husband on all the chores. Last summer they got away only twice, and then for only a few hours. Last fall they had to sell calves when beef prices were down, thus losing money. They definitely feel the "squeeze." They could keep more cows and sell more milk, but would need a 'bulk tank' (\$900) and a proper dairy house, which would mean a large outlay and borrowing money. If they were younger it would be different, but there was no use thinking about it now. Mr. A. said, "They say we aren't educated enough, but if a farmer becomes educated and has all the modern equipment, in poultry for instance, he could supply all the country. This throws people out of work."

To reach the house from the country road they must follow a rough and desolate road for at least half a mile through their own property, which is hilly and rocky. During the winter, they can get out only by tractor or wagon. They said the younger boy was quite frightened to walk to the school bus; wolves came to the barn and bears had been seen around. Rabid foxes, skunks and porcupines were also feared in that area.

They have friends and neighbors who visit back and forth. Mrs. A. said it would be hard to move away because of their friends. They go to

weddings and receptions, as does the whole community, and attend dances and try to attend the funerals.

They felt that other places were better off economically and had better land. They wouldn't want their own sons to go into farming there. They were satisfied where they were, but felt that the time might come when they would have to move because of age and health.

#### FAMILY B

##### SUMMARY

The B.'s have 12 children at home, ranging from eight months to 15 years. Five children are away from home. The family live in a converted railway station that is in fair condition. Heating is by space heater and a kitchen stove, supplemented by an electric cooker. Water is taken from a hand pump outdoors and there is an outdoor toilet. The parents have always lived in the county. The family have a radio, refrigerator-freezer, washing machine and television. They also have a telephone and an old car.

They bought the house six years ago. Their home on the second and third floors is reached by an outside stairway. They spent \$1,400 on repairs, and Mr. B. said it needed \$1,400 more. They own a cow, and raised pigs until last year. They intended having pigs again to save on the meat bill.

Mr. B. drives the children 2-1/2 miles to the elementary school.

The high school is 16 miles away, as are the doctor, general hospital and public health representative. Mr. and Mrs. B. had Grades 8 and 3 education. Of the five children already out of the home, two attained Grade 7, and the others Grades 9, 8, and 5.

The income includes Mr. B.'s wages of \$290, and Family Allowances of \$80; a total of \$370 per month, or \$26.43 per person.

#### INTERVIEW REPORT

The B.'s said they were railway and road people with a love for the country. Mr. B., who is aged 50, is employed by the railroad. He had decided views on some subjects. He thought more men could get jobs if women did not work, and that the highway builders had been short-sighted in not providing for a four-lane road.

Mrs. B. did not look more than her 41 years in spite of bearing 17 children. She was the station-master until rail service was discontinued three years ago. The home was neat and clean. The children were neatly and suitably dressed and most attractive.

Mr. B. said he had done his best to get the oldest son to complete high school, but the boy wanted to work and now regretted the lost opportunity. He was a dependable farm hand and good with the animals. His ambition was to save money in his present job of signal maintenance for five or six years and then buy a small farm.

For recreation, the men talk hunting and fishing "over a good pipe."

Both parents agreed that lack of recreation for the young people was a great problem. For fun the children prowl in the woods chasing squirrels, and fish and pick blueberries. To play hockey the boys have to go to Smith's Falls or Perth.

The family are Anglicans. Although they do not attend church, some of the children go to Sunday School. Mrs. B. once belonged to the Mothers' Union. There is a 4-H Club north of the village, but too far for the teenagers to go. The family seem to get on with their neighbors, who are mostly farmers in much the same circumstances. There is no planned recreation for adults or children. They thought the neighbors would always lend a hand if they were in any difficulties.

Mr. B. said that though he liked his work and did not want to give it up, he wished he had a small farm where he could grow his own vegetables and have enough livestock to provide meat for the winter.

#### FAMILY C

#### SUMMARY

Mr. and Mrs. C. have three sons at home. Mr. C. is disabled and no longer able to work at his trade as cook. They live in an old five-room, insul-brick house that is in poor condition. It is heated by a space heater and kitchen stove. A hot plate is also used for cooking. Water comes from a hand pump outdoors; there is no bath or indoor toilet. The family have

electricity, and a refrigerator and washing machine. The nearest bus and the doctor are 36 miles away.

Mr. C. attained Grade 4 and his wife Grade 7 at school. The elementary school is 4 miles distant, and the high school 36 miles; both are served by bus.

Income is made up of a Disabled Persons' Allowance of \$75, Family Allowances of \$16, and a Mothers' Allowance of \$75 (during the summer reduced to \$50), for an average of about \$155 per month, or \$31.00 per person. Mrs. C. has her hands full and could never find a job in the village. A retarded son has never been assessed for trainability. Two sons of 22 and 19 get seasonal work cutting wood and seem to meet their own needs, and when home help to buy groceries. The two boys of 13 and 12 years have little chance to earn even "pin money".

#### INTERVIEW REPORT

Money is used to meet bare necessities. The family had no idea of how much was spent on food or clothes: when there was no money they did without. Mrs. C. continually returned to the fact that her Mothers' Allowance cheque was reduced by \$25 for summer months. She agreed that she didn't need fuel for heat in summer, but she still had to cook, and she tried to can and preserve.

Last year they raised two pigs and bought a freezer. They kept one pig for their own food. This year they were getting three pigs so as to

have more meat. Mr. C. planned to freeze whatever berries they could find, and vegetables from the garden, and pork.

Mr. C. was laid off five years ago and received unemployment insurance for one month. During the next four years he suffered repeated heart attacks, and last August had a massive stroke. His speech is badly affected, his left arm is useless, he uses a crutch under his right arm, and his wife helps him to move about. He is frustrated by his inability to make himself understood, but is not dull. He answered most of the questions and his wife interpreted his sounds.

After a dizzy spell last summer, Mrs. C. had a medical examination and had medication prescribed, which she purchased only once. Mr. and Mrs. C. have no teeth. They were told that it was too late to get dentures even if they could pay for them. No member of the family has ever had an eye examination. There is an immunization program for school children 36 miles away. Twice during 1964 a doctor was required and it meant going to the village store to phone, then hiring a car from three miles away and being driven 36 miles to a doctor.

This family are without the basic necessities of life at times and have no television, radio or phone. They receive no papers, and have no magazines or books. There is no bus, regular church service or community activity within reach of them. The two young boys see a few television programs with their friends. The older boys have to go farther

afield for social activities, and the retarded boy is taken to an occasional hockey or ball game.

There is no community recreation for Mr. and Mrs. C.

Both parents wanted the teenage boys to continue in school, but the 13-year-old, in Grade 7, intended to leave after June. The 12-year-old boy, in Grade 5, has no incentives but will likely continue until Grade 7. The married daughter had Grade 8 only. None of the six children attended high school.

The C.'s have no intention of living elsewhere; they want no part of city life. "This is our home," said Mr. C. "I was born here, my wife came here in 1939. It is quiet here, never smokey and it is ours." They have a garden on the one-acre holding, there are fish in the river behind the house, the boys can hunt on occasions, and there is an abundance of blueberries if the bears don't eat them. The opportunities for work for the family are limited, but Mr. C. was sure it was the same all around. Mr. and Mrs. C. said, "You have to have education to get work," but they appeared unable to get their own children to go to high school.

#### FAMILY D

#### SUMMARY

The D. family comprises the parents, one daughter and three sons.

They live in a log house over 100 years old. It is heated by the wood-

burning kitchen stove and one electric heater. Water is secured from a spring about half a mile away. In winter they use melted snow and in summer catch as much rain as possible. The toilet is outdoors. They have a radio and refrigerator, but no washing machine, television or telephone. The nearest bus is 30 miles away.

The house, on one acre of land, now belongs to the township for non-payment of taxes (taxes are \$16 a year and there is nearly \$200 owing). The family live in two rooms downstairs because the upstairs has never been finished. The roof was mended last year, but the inside ceiling, walls and floors have not seen paint for perhaps 20 years. The house and children are very clean.

The one-room elementary school is a half-mile distant, and the high school and doctor 30 miles away.

Mr. D. has about Grade 7 education, and is a bush cutter and laborer. Mrs. D. has Grade 8 and worked in a woollen mill before her marriage.

The income of the family is the net of Mr. D's wages after his board is paid away from home, plus Family Allowances and some self-employment, averaging altogether \$144 a month, or \$24 per person.

#### INTERVIEW REPORT

Mr. D., one of a large family of life-time residents in this area, seems to be losing interest in family affairs. He goes away periodically

looking for work, gets a job (rough carpentry, mining, etc.), boards where he is working and sends money home. After some months he either loses or quits his job. When home, he is mostly idle, but may go bush-cutting or take odd jobs for a few days at a time. There is practically no work available in the area, and certainly no steady work. He does a bit of fishing, hunting or trapping, depending on the season.

When Mr. D. is home, his wife finds that the family "live better." The cost of boarding elsewhere and other expenses are too high, and they have no car.

While Mr. D. might be regarded as "shiftless" in a more sophisticated community, his wife stated that he lay awake half the night worrying about how to get money for groceries. He seems to be a product of an environment of limited opportunity, seasonal employment with idleness in between, and a consequent inability to adjust for long to a routine. Mrs. D. has a realistic attitude toward her husband's earning capacity, which keeps the family where they can live on the least amount of money. She sees, without apparent bitterness, but with resignation, a difference between their outlooks. "With me, every cent counts, every minute counts. With others, it needn't be done today if it can be put off," she said.

Mrs. D. does seem to make the best of a very difficult financial situation. She buys everything in bulk, cases of canned milk and sacks of flour and oatmeal, but very few canned goods of any sort and never cake

mixes. She bakes her own bread. She takes pride in cooking and in assuring vitamins for the children.

The parents simply did not know what else to do, and were afraid of the consequences of making any change. They were proud and independent, and applying for any form of so-called "relief" was unthinkable.

Mrs. D., particularly, leads a lonely and frustrating existence, and she is regarded with pity and sympathy by her neighbors. Despite her pride and reluctance to complain, she admitted to exhaustion and aching arms (their retarded child would not sleep at night unless held by her). She was worried about money and feared for the children's future.

Mr. D.'s bachelor brother fetches her a pail of water occasionally, and baby-sits once or twice a year when she goes to the doctor, but "there is nothing around here worth going out for," she said. "People don't want us to come and interrupt them when they're watching TV, and they don't come here because there's no TV to watch." Mr. D. has more companionship and recreation than his wife, mainly because of his way of earning a living. The only regular visitor is the priest, and the church is their only association.

Devoted care is given to the retarded child. He is very difficult to feed and becomes frantic after dark if he is not held in her arms. He won't stay happily with anyone else except sometimes his father or uncle across the way. Mrs. D. would not consider sending him to an institution, as he

would surely die. She took him to a clinic, and also wrote to the Children's Aid Society, who sent a worker to see her, but she was told nothing could be done either medically or financially. She would readily accept a pension or allowance for him, and asked for advice about this.

Mrs. D. cherishes ambitions for her children. "I hope to God they will be able to get out of here," she said. The eldest little girl helps with the baby. The little boy (8) goes out cutting cedar brush with his father.

The lacks are obvious to an outsider. There is no counselling or financial help either for the retarded child or for the general situation. Extreme family effort must be put into visiting and paying a private doctor. Delinquents were said to be rarely caught, and if they were, they talked their way out of it. The school had the reputation of being tough; teachers could not handle the children and did not stay, though the teacher this year was a good one.

Mr. D. was in favor of consolidating the schools, thinking they might get better teachers, and the children more attention. The biggest advantage would be that the children would see another way of life.

"Although there might be more jobs elsewhere, it costs a lot more to live." Mr. D. said, "It's high time a study like this was done so people know what it's like around here. It's the same as the Ozarks."

The family apparently did not have any deep attachment to the locality. Mr. D. knew he could not make a decent living there and would

readily move. Mrs. D. would like to be sure of a steady job first. Once Mr. D. worked in a mine at Sudbury, thought he could obtain a house and sent for her. She refused to go because she was afraid the work was not steady. In fact, he did lose the job and the house deal fell through. Mrs. D. is terrified of moving, knowing that Mr. D.'s earning capacity barely permits survival where they are. She greatly fears having to pay rent.

#### FAMILY E

#### SUMMARY

The E. family is composed of Mr. E., his mother, a sister, two young nieces and a nephew of 14-1/2 years. The family has lived in the community for over 80 years. Mr. E. could not go to high school because there was no bus in his day and his family could not afford to pay his board in town. He is pleased that his nephew is going to high school.

The family live in a seven-room, log house that is in fair condition. It is heated by a room heater and the kitchen stove burning wood. Electrical equipment helps with the cooking. Water is secured from a well 150 yards from the house, carried by pail. There is no bath or indoor toilet. The family have a radio, refrigerator, washing machine, television, telephone and a half-ton truck.

The home is 35 miles from a bus service and high school. The elementary schools are four miles away for Grades 1 to 4 and 1-1/4 miles for

Grades 5 to 8; there is a bus service. The doctor is 20 miles away, and the nearest general hospital 35 miles.

Mr. E. is a farmer and laborer. Over the year, the average monthly income was \$85 from self-employment and \$111 in wages, \$8 wages from other members of the family, \$7 Unemployment Insurance, his mother's Old Age Assistance of \$60, and Family Allowances, totalling \$290 per month, or \$48.33 per person. Expenditures were listed as \$270 per month.

#### INTERVIEW REPORT

Mr. E. was intelligent, ambitious and articulate about his situation, in which he felt desperately trapped. His sense of responsibility was evident in his care of his mother, sister, nieces and nephew. He believed all the farmers in this area were in difficulty. He made an attempt to contact ARDA by a visit to Ontario Federation of Agriculture when our study was announced, and our call was in response to this.

Mr. E. left home when 15, worked in many different parts of the country, and finally trained as a baker. He left his \$60-a-week bakery job in Hamilton after three years (it was the best income he ever had) to work on the farm when his father fell ill. He worked it for three years with no pay, not even cutting the bush, on the understanding that his father would leave the property to him. This decision he regretted very much because he could not make a go of it. On the other hand, he did not regret leaving

city life because he felt he was unsuited for it. Living on a farm and working in a bakery would have suited him best.

There are two "pays" a year, one in the fall when he sells the baby beef and one in the spring from the sale of wood cut from his bush. Mr. E. is often up against it in summer and winter. This year was unusual in that he broke his leg and could not supplement his income by cutting wood. But he obtained work driving a tractor for the township, which he did with his broken leg. At present he is drawing Unemployment Insurance.

Mr. E. was very frustrated, having no way of getting capital to move away or buy a better farm. This farm has very poor soil. Out of 400 acres, 30 to 40 are tillable, the rest is rock, bush and poor pasture. He cannot grow enough hay for his 10 cows and two horses, and has to buy more hay every winter. The distance from markets is a serious problem, making hens or pigs unprofitable. The nearest egg grading station is 35 miles away, and there are no people nearby who buy eggs. He cannot market milk for the same reason. The calves run with the cows until they are sold for baby beef in the fall.

Mr. E. cannot sell this place for enough to make even a down payment on another farm. He said loans were difficult to get at his age (37) and for farms as poor as his. He and the other farmers spent much time discussing ways and means. No one made anything by farming alone; they depended heavily on bush cutting and outside employment. The better-off

people worked full-time for the Air Force, Department of Lands and Forests or the Hydro.

Mr. E. said that the only solution was for half the people to move away (he claimed that at least half would be willing) and the other half to take over their holdings. In his own case this would allow him to keep more cows, grow more hay and have enough maple sugar trees to justify investment in cans, spouts, etc. He felt it would enable the people there to "get by" for perhaps the next 10 years. He was already counting the years until he received the Old Age Pension.

Mr. E. mentioned a number of ideas for possible projects in the area:

raising the level of a local lake with a dam and re-stocking it with fish to make it attractive to tourists; getting the township to apply for a Centennial grant to make a trailer park at the lake; re-organizing the beaver trapping zones; re-forestation (he has been attempting this on his own farm); building a hunting lodge as a source of income; and developing the sugar bush.

Apparently there is good feeling among the neighbors. Baby showers, visiting and euchre parties are the usual entertainment. Mr. E. enjoys the dances each week, and looks forward especially to the hunting season. He has a cabin on his property and his brothers and friends share expenses and go hunting together every fall.

Family relationships appear good but their circumstances and

financial difficulties seem to cause them all tremendous anxiety. Deprivation is not as apparent as their worry over finding ways to supplement income.

Mr. E. was very interested in local organizations and constructive in his attitude toward them. He belongs to the local church and admires the priest. He is a member of two co-ops and the Ontario Federation of Agriculture. He has contact with others outside his community and is interested in their problems.

Mr. E. is a school trustee and is anxious to improve the schooling by consolidation. He ran for reeve in the last election and was defeated by 14 votes. He disapproved of the present township council as being too satisfied with the status quo. He was very interested in ARDA and hoped something constructive could be done. He thought some areas in Lanark County might conceivably be worse than his, where there was all poor farm land and no bush to cut.

Mr. E. did not see how those not on farms lived. Most people he knew were in circumstances similar to his own. Most of the young men would like to leave if they could; the older ones were more tied to the community.

Mr. E. was very willing to move either to a farm near a source of employment or to a good farm that would be worked full time. The obstacle was money. If he had a down payment he would buy a farm and work out to

pay it off. Or he would enlarge his own holdings if he could afford to. A rural setting was important as he could not see himself in an urban one again. About 10 miles from a town he thought would be ideal.

FAMILY F

SUMMARY

Mr. and Mrs. F. have a girl of seven and a boy of five. Mr. F. is a farmer and Mrs. F. an office worker. He has Grade 6 education, and she Grade 12 and a commercial course.

They live in an eight-room log house that is at least 100 years old and in poor condition. It is heated by a box stove and the kitchen stove burning wood. Water is from a hand pump outdoors; there is no bath or indoor toilet.

They have electricity and a radio, refrigerator, washing machine, television, telephone and a car.

The nearest bus stop is 20 miles away. The elementary school is two miles distant. The high school is 20 miles away, but there is a school bus. The doctor and hospital are 20 miles away.

The income of the family is from farming, the other earnings of Mr. and Mrs. F., and Family Allowances. The farm in 1964 showed a loss. Mr. F. earned \$27 per month and Mrs. F. \$101, with Family Allowances of \$12, for a total of \$140; or \$35 per person per month. The

family have no debts.

INTERVIEW REPORT

Mr. F. held over eight head of cattle which he normally would have sold, as prices were too low last year. Had he sold them at the desired price, he would have had a net farm profit of \$605. The farming operation provides the family with some food and perhaps some security although it ties them down.

There is very little outside labor available for Mr. F., as he cannot go far because of farm chores. Mrs. F. works hard as township clerk. Despite her careful management and hard work (baking bread, etc.) they suffer deprivation. The house, although in good repair and well kept, is sparsely furnished. Mrs. F.'s teeth are staring to decay and she is apparently having to forego attention. She tries to buy her children inexpensive books and toys. In discussing clothes, she said she managed to "keep them covered," but that was all.

Mrs. F. is carrying the load, both financially and psychologically. Her job as township clerk, which she can perform at home and care for her children, keeps them on the farm. Her husband runs the farm while she keeps the books and does everything else.

Mr. F. said that he had worked three months last winter building a bridge for the township and his earnings from this had been keeping the farm going. He was supporting the farm, it was not supporting him. They

have 100 acres, 20 acres of it waste land and 35 acres under cultivation, and have to rent pasture. They have 14 cows and market calves and milk. They raise pigs for their own use and have three hens as pets for the children. Their two horses are dying of old age, but are used in cutting hay.

Mr. F. complained about how hard he worked, starting his chores at 4.15 a.m. and usually not finishing until after 10 p.m. It was very difficult for him when he had outside work. He did not make any effort to find work, but took it if it came. He had not drawn Unemployment Insurance for 10 years. He appeared to be looking more for a way to justify his dependence on his wife than for a solution to his difficulties. He seemed to have a strong urge to farm.

Mrs. F. explained that one really needed 800 acres of that type of land to make a go of it. On the other hand, they were lukewarm about having more land for themselves. Probably, Mr. F. feared the complications and hard work, and Mrs. F. doubted their capacity to succeed and pay off a loan.

The idea of some vocational training for Mr. F. received a negative response. He had tried a welding course a couple of years ago and it had been a failure. Mrs. F. was taking her final year of a correspondence course in municipal management from Queen's University. She did not say what her plans might be, but she was certainly putting herself in a good

position to obtain a better paying job. As to the family's immediate future, Mrs. F. did not feel there was anything much that could be done. Both parents showed affection for the children.

They said they attended Presbyterian Church and donated regularly to the Bible Society, but did not participate in other formal groups. Mr. F. was not interested and Mrs. F. lacked the time. She explained that the local Women's Institute had collapsed, as no one had had time to run it. Any of the women who did not have small children were away working.

They were not aware of any demand in the community for better public health services, but Mrs. F. felt that they would use them if they were available. This applied particularly to dental care. The school seemed to be satisfactory.

Mrs. F. administered township welfare under the reeve's direction, but he saw the applicants. She found it puzzling that there were so few people applying for assistance because she knew there were many in difficulty.

The F.'s were not satisfied with their life, owing to the meagre income, but felt that it was better to remain there on account of Mrs. F.'s position as township clerk. It is doubtful if Mr. F. could manage a larger operation or support his family adequately in any other way if they did move. Mrs. F. could obtain employment almost anywhere, but her present arrangement allows her to have her office at home. Mr. F. is kept busy

and contributes to the limit of his capacity and resources. It would be difficult to make a better arrangement, much as they need a higher income.

### FAMILY G

#### SUMMARY

The G. family is composed of the husband and wife, Mrs. G.'s mother, and two sons of 18 and 15. Mr. G. is a farmer and store clerk, and the eldest son is a plumber's helper. They live in a very old nine-room, brick house that is in good condition. It has room heaters that burn oil. Cooking is by electric equipment. Water is available indoors by tap, but there is no bath or indoor toilet. They have a radio, refrigerator, washing machine, television, telephone and a car.

The nearest bus is three miles away. Mr. G. goes to work by car. The elementary school, doctor and hospital are also three miles away, and there is no bus service. The high school is 2-1/2 miles away and has a bus service.

Mr. and Mrs. G. had Grade 8 education. Their eldest son left school at Grade 10. The income of the family was reported as \$230 from from the man's wages, payments of \$55 by the mother-in-law and working son, and Family Allowance of \$8, for a total of \$293 per month; or \$58.50 per person. The reported expenditures balanced this.

INTERVIEW REPORT

Mr. G. was not seen because he was at work. Mrs. G. said that it was absolutely necessary for her husband to work both on and off the farm; they could not live on either alone. The farm produced no net cash income last year.

Mrs. G. saw her family as badly off because her husband had to work so long and hard at two jobs, with no progress in either. They had to scrimp all the time, without treats. This had become worse in the past few years with the rise in cost of living. They had no money for recreation and never had a holiday.

Although they had a fair amount of equipment and the house was in good repair, Mrs. G. explained that they had acquired those things from nothing, starting 17 years ago. Mr. G. had worked the family homestead, but due to "family troubles" was forced to leave. They bought 100 acres and had had a fierce struggle paying off the debt. Some of the things -- the freezer, pressure system for water and electric stove -- were acquired when Mrs. G.'s father died two years ago and her mother sold her house and came to live with them.

Mrs. G. suffers from osteo-arthritis, for which she takes streptomycin, and from extreme tension requiring frequent hypodermics and daily tranquilizers. These conditions were not apparent from the calm, intelligent way in which she described her situation.

The older boy left school this fall (Grade 10) and has been working since September for a plumber at 75 cents an hour. This not a formal apprenticeship and the boy is very discouraged, but can't find better employment. His parents still have to buy some of his clothes. The younger boy is trying to get a Saturday job. He hates to ask for spending money.

They saw no way of improving their income from farming (an auditor's report showed a loss due to deductible expenses, including hydro and car) mostly because Mr. G. was nearly 50 and could not do the extra work if they did get a loan and expanded their operations. They have 34 head of cattle, grow hay and grain and sell calves. Prices fluctuate with supply. To do any better, they would need a bigger farm. Loans were hard to get at Mr. G.'s age and worse to pay off.

Mr. G. liked working in the hardware store, but was unhappy about earning only \$54 to \$58 a week as a clerk. He had made numerous efforts to get other work, and he would go anywhere or do anything. His age and limited education were against him. He tried to take a weekly business course a few years ago and liked it very much, but could not keep it up because of the chores at home and the financial strain.

Mrs. G. believed the shortage of jobs and low wages were due to the attitude of the town council. She described as die-hard and reactionary the attitude of town council members and other influential wealthy people in the town. She said that they discouraged new industry because they knew

that its arrival would force the established firms to raise wages and even to accept unions.

Mrs. G. was glad to see that this study was being made of the area as "something should be done," although she didn't know what could be done. Perhaps the town council and employers in town could be shaken up a bit and "given a good talking to."

Relationships within the family seemed good. Mrs. G. was ambitious for the boys, and was probably worried and disappointed that they were not as studious as they might be. Throughout all their struggles she has kept up payment on an insurance policy for each of them, bought originally with the intention of using the Family Allowance, but that has been usually needed for something else. Each of the boys is given a calf each year although the family can ill afford it.

Mrs. G.'s mother would rather be in town, but they can't afford any other arrangement. She goes out and does a bit of light housework and makes enough for her own medical care and clothing.

The boys go to the drive-in movie once a week. The family have little time or money for recreation, but relations with neighbors are very cordial.

Mrs. G. is an officer of the local Women's Institute branch. She tries to enrol all the women and keep them occupied with suitable projects. Their fund-raising is directed toward helping local students who go from

high school to teacher's college, nursing school or university.

The boys belong to a 4-H tractor club. The family go to the Anglican Church, where Mrs. G. has been an officer in the Women's Guild. Mr. G. is a member of the Feed and Seed Co-op, through which the family get medical services and 80% of the cost of drugs.

The G.'s felt strongly that the rural schools were poor and that their children suffered from poor teaching. Children were shifted from one school to another depending on the population in different years. The older boy quit school because he wanted a technical course and couldn't have it because of over crowding in the high school. He didn't want to change to a business course as he could have done. He had difficulty academically because of poor teaching in the early grades, his mother said. The younger boy was shifted to another school in Grade 6 and started having difficulties after that. He was "picking up now" in Grade 9. He liked electricity and drafting, and they were hoping he would stay in school.

Mrs. G. was glad to see the movement toward consolidated schools. Even though it is too late for her own children, she would gladly stand the increased taxes.

The township has immunization and pre-natal clinics. Mrs. G. did not think a visiting public health service was necessary in this area, since it was so close to town. They were very satisfied with the medical

care they receive from the doctors in town.

Their only experience of welfare was an unfortunate attempt to obtain Old Age Assistance for Mrs. G.'s mother. This was refused by the worker because the mother had a brother who was well-to-do. Mr. G. said it worked a great hardship on many people who could not ask their relatives for help. Mrs. G.'s mother will be eligible for Old Age Security next August.

Mrs. G. remarked that debates in parliament were about such "little things". She hoped the present study was a sign that the government was "waking up" to some of the problems.

Definitely dissatisfied, but feeling trapped in their situation, the G.'s would welcome any governmental action to improve things in the way of education, re-training, wages or job opportunities.

Mrs. G. distinguished their position from that of living "in poverty", but considered they were "hard up". She regarded their standard of living, which was maintained through scrimping and hard work, as below her concept of what a good life ought to be -- some rest and leisure, hobbies and recreation for the children, holidays once in a while, occasional treats and clothes for Sunday best.

She said no neighbors were without sufficient food or clothing to keep warm. But most families were forced to work at two jobs, or the wives were working. "We get along and it is not necessary to go hungry, but

anything extra like higher education is almost impossible."

The G.'s were very attached to a rural way of life, but would move anywhere or do anything to improve their circumstances. They preferred to be near a town or city. Constant attempts to find better employment in neighboring towns had been without success.

### FAMILY H

#### SUMMARY

The H. family includes the father and mother, three sons aged 13, 10 and six, and three daughters aged eight and four, and eight months.

The family live in a five-room, log house covered by aluminum siding and in good condition. They heat and cook by a kitchen stove burning wood, supplemented by an electric one in summer. Water is from a hand pump outdoors, but there is an indoor toilet. They have a refrigerator, washing machine and television, but no radio or telephone. They own a truck.

Elementary school is four miles away and high school is seven, but there is a bus service. The family doctor and hospital are seven miles away.

Income is from a small net return on the farm, seasonal work in industry, Unemployment Insurance and Family Allowances, for an average of \$156 per month, or \$19.50 per person.

INTERVIEW REPORT

The house is set back from the road with a garden space and some fruit trees in front. There are two barns, one of which Mr. H. built himself. They have 100 acres, half bush. They raise pigs, and sell garden produce in the summer, but 1964 was very dry and there was a late frost, and his profit only \$65. Last year, Mr. H. made \$1,000 selling poles and \$900 from pigs. He used the \$900 and his old station wagon to pay \$1,265 for the truck. He started on Unemployment Insurance on December 15th and was still getting it.

Mr. H. came from Europe seven years ago. A few months later his wife came; they borrowed money from the government for her own and the children's passage. He bought the present property five years ago and still thinks he can make a go of it. He said that if he could borrow the money to build a bigger barn he would raise pigs on a much larger scale and be able to make a living. He builds a lot on the farm himself.

Mrs. H. showed signs of physical strain but she was patient with the children. They were all very healthy, she said. She did not know of any clinic where she could have the eyes of one of her children tested, but she was going to try to find one. She got new dentures two months ago and paid cash for them. A doctor comes to the town hall once a year to give injections to the children.

The same teacher has been at the local school ever since they came.

She is a good teacher and they like her. Their children will go to school as long as they can manage to keep them there. They used to go to meetings of the Parent-Teacher Association, but there had been very few this year. People were not interested. Mr. H. did not understand this.

They have no recreation except the television and visits with friends. There is nothing organized for the children.

Mr. and Mrs. H. are Lutherans, but do not go to church now. The children go to Sunday School in the nearest town. A Farmers' Union was being organized in their area and Mr. H. planned to join. He has attended council meetings.

Mr. H. liked it where they were and said he would never move to a town or city. Things were very hard, but he expected them to improve. Everybody around there was in the same boat.

Mr. H. seemed young enough, strong enough, and determined enough to improve his lot, but without cash for improvement he could make little progress. He would like to buy more land or clear some of his bush to raise feed for a larger number of pigs, but his plans seemed to be blocked at the moment. He intended to enquire about a government loan. Mrs. H. seemed to be just keeping her head above water.

FAMILY I

SUMMARY

The I. family is comprised of father and mother, a widowed daughter, five sons of 17 to nine years, a daughter of 11, and a year-old grandchild. They live in a wooded area proposed for a national park. Most people in the area are described as poor.

The family live in a very old log house of sick rooms in fair condition. The house is heated by a room heater and kitchen stove burning wood and oil. There is supplementary cooking on an electric range. Water is from a hand pump outdoors and the toilet is outdoors. They have a radio, refrigerator-freezer, washing machine, television and a car. There is no telephone. The family have lived there for 19 years and in the county all of their lives, except for a period in Northern Ontario.

The elementary school is a quarter of a mile away, the high school 24 miles, the family doctor 12, and the nearest hospital 24. Three children already finished school attained Grades 6 or 7.

The family income is approximately \$125 per month from self-employment, \$30 from earnings, \$15 from the Mothers' Allowance of the daughter (the balance is going to pay for the husband's funeral), and \$40 Family Allowances. The total is \$240, or \$24 per person per month.

INTERVIEW REPORT

This family, acknowledged to be hard up like the others, was admired and respected by the community. They were proud and sensitive, reluctant to admit how low their income really was, and certainly seemed to be putting up a fight to improve their conditions. Mr. and Mrs. I. work long hours and extremely hard, trying to find ways of supplementing or stretching their resources, and have been making progress in purchasing household equipment. The strain of it all is most apparent in Mrs. I.

Mr. I. returned here after a number of years in construction work and mining in Northern Ontario. He bought his present property of 300 acres 19 years ago, and has done extensive repairs to house and barn. The exterior looks well kept. The rather large house is clean, but with shabby furnishings in contrast to the relatively new stove, freezer and vacuum cleaner.

The family keep pigs and hens, and grow many of their own vegetables. They fish in the summer and hunt in the fall. Mrs. I. bakes her own bread and her cooking is a source of pride.

The livelihood is primarily from bush-cutting, supplemented by a little carpentry, also some survey work. The bush is cut from their own land, and there is a satisfaction and security in this. Mr. I. is undoubtedly a capable hard worker, while being casual and easy-going in his attitude. He volunteered no complaints, but did agree with some made by his wife,

such as the fact that he was getting old and suffered from arthritis, and would be unable to work in the bush much longer.

Mrs. I., small, white-haired, toothless and frail, seemed exhausted from hard work and anxiety. While making an effort to acquire things that would make her work lighter, she had the worry of the payments falling due and the need to "keep our name clear of debt". Later, information was received that Mrs. I. had been in Ontario Hospital recently.

The main worry was about the children's future. There was nothing for them in the way of recreation or employment opportunities. The bush on the land could not support them all. They were completely dependent on the price of pulpwood for survival.

Mrs. I. would like to see her husband open a "shop" for carpentry and machinery repairs, as he was apparently good at this. Also, there was some marble on the property, and the possibility of cutting this existed, though Mr. I. did not know what he could do about it.

They aspired to a high school education for their children, both for them to "learn the ways" of others and to become independent of their father. It appeared, however, that not all the children were successful in school, and this was another source of worry. The 17-year-old boy worked in the bush with his father by choice, and Mrs. I. feared that the others would follow suit. The next boy had repeated several grades and would probably have to leave school this year. There would be nothing for him to do.

Strong family ties existed both in the immediate family and with Mrs. I.'s relatives, who came to visit frequently. The extra work of those visits was a strain, but they enjoyed them nonetheless. Favorite family outings, since they did not have money for anything else, were picnics and fishing every Sunday in the summer. They planned to go some time to the local drive-in theater. The annual church supper was an important event.

Mrs. I. longed for a holiday, saying, "If I could only get away and have a rest, but there is so much to do here all the time, baking and spring cleaning coming up, and such a large family to look after." Once she spent a Thanksgiving weekend with her daughter in the U.S.; the only holiday she has ever had.

Apart from lack of opportunity for the children, Mrs. I. felt a definite lack of social life for herself. She would welcome the reinstatement of the church women's group, which had been disbanded for some time. She felt unable to organize such a thing herself. Mr. I. seemed generally satisfied with things as they were.

There was little interest in community organizations, except for the school. The children had not got along too well with some of the teachers they had had, but this year the teacher was much better. They were unsure whether consolidated schools would be better, as all were Catholic families there. High school was the ambition for any of the

children that proved capable, as two of the boys seemed to be.

Mothers' Allowance was received by the daughter, whose husband was recently killed in a car accident. The I.'s were looking forward to the Old Age Pension.

Mr. I.'s roots are deep and he cannot see himself better off elsewhere. Ties here are such that at his age he would not choose to move. He would like to see some much-needed improvements in the local situation; more industry, especially a pulp mill, and perhaps mining. He would encourage his children to move away and become independent, but is fearful that they wouldn't or couldn't.

SELECTED CASE STUDIES - INTERLAKE

These families represent a cross-section of the 75 families interviewed for this study. They are arranged roughly according to the extent to which they appear able to cope with their problems.

FAMILY A

There was nothing good about this family's living. Mr. A. did not complain, but recognized, with resignation, that he had been beaten by forces beyond his control. He was grateful for the small assistance from his wife's blind pension of \$75 a month. The only skill he ever had was as a farmer, but his wife's and daughter's illnesses cost him his entire farm. Originally, he had 40 head of cattle and 160 acres of mixed grain, and cleared about \$500 a year, after growing most of their own food.

Mr. and Mrs. A. and their two girls now live in a three-room shack on his mother's land. It is a dirty hovel, with no facilities except a great cook stove, which Mrs. A. bumps into when she tries to find the door to the next room. On the warm spring day of the interview, the stove was heating the shack to a temperature over a hundred, although no one appeared to be cooking anything. The older girl was quiet, polite and friendly. The younger girl seemed very affectionate, intelligent and imaginative. She volunteered a great deal of information on how to open gates, how to use the

pumps and where the water came from, and improvised a number of games with a stick and ball.

Five year's ago, Mrs. A.'s dizzy spells and periods of unconsciousness prompted them to seek medical advice. After diagnosis and attention by various doctors, she was operated on by a leading neurological surgeon for cancer in the brain area. After this, she was partially bald, with three huge scars indenting her forehead and temples, and totally blind.

Mr. A. said that even before she had her operation they had accumulated \$1,000 in diagnostic bills. When he tried to get financial assistance, he learned that he was not eligible because of his assets. Bit by bit he sold his cattle and his land, and when he was finally destitute, he was relieved of the obligation to complete payment of his medical bills, and his wife was eligible for her blind pension. Mr. A. had no idea of the amount of the medical bills he paid, but guessed that it was \$3,000.

At the same time, his older daughter was receiving medical care for a severe condition which caused her to miss so much school that, at the age of 15, she was only in Grade 5. She was taking pills that had successfully arrested her attacks, but the family needed to be persuaded that she should continue with them even if the attacks were far less frequent.

The C. N. I. B. offered to help train Mrs. A. to adapt to her blindness, but she agreed with her husband that "her brain is muddled" and she could not learn. She was given a clock by the C. N. I. B., with raised nail heads of

different shapes to replace the numbers, but could not master it.

Mrs. A. was not only lucid, but appeared very intelligent and articulate in conversation for about 20 minutes, but suddenly a trivial comment by her husband which she thought inaccurate threw her into a frenzy of angry repetitious contradiction. When her husband said, "stop" and changed the subject, she calmed down and participated quietly and helpfully in the discussion.

Mr. A. still owned 42 acres of pasture land which he rented out for \$48 a year to cover the taxes. He no longer entertained any hopes of being able to farm again, because of his age and the pain in his neck which the doctor thought was arthritis.

Mr. A. said there was no other kind of work he could do because he had no training and was not very smart. But farming was a good occupation for people like him because "your blood is your work" and a farmer "will always eat". He still tended the garden and kept vegetables in a root cellar. He did not think he ever would have been a prosperous farmer, because the soil was too poor, the land wore out machinery fast and the operating costs were too high.

Mr. A. believed it was a friendly community. The neighbors were kind and helpful. He resented, however, the \$10 monthly fee charged by the driver of the school bus to take the girls to school in winter. He did not mind paying something. It was difficult to determine whether Mr. A. was

over-protective, or whether the children were so poorly clothed that 3/4 mile in winter would be a brutal experience for them.

In spite of his extreme misfortunes and limited intelligence, Mr. A. continues to be a kindly, even-tempered person who loves his family and mercifully does not believe that the future is bleak for his children.

#### FAMILY B

Mr. B. said he was very satisfied with his job as a section hand for the CNR, but he seemed bewildered because, after many years of steady full-time employment, his job had now been reduced to about 3/4-time with an accompanying cut in pay. Although his job required him to live 40 miles to the north, he was usually provided with free bunkhouse accommodation, and was content that his family should continue to live at home. During haying time, he said, he was able to get a bit of casual work from nearby farmers. He also kept three milk cows and a large garden. All these efforts were insufficient to make ends meet. Mr. B. had no ideas on how to improve his situation, nor was he interested in considering whether or not his neighbors were better off than he was.

Because they lived three miles from town, the B. family had little to do with other people. Ice skating was the only recreation mentioned for the children, and since the rink was three miles away, these excursions were rare. There was no money for movies. Mrs. B. attended the odd

Bingo game. The oldest son, who was a casual labourer, did not contribute room and board, and spent his money mostly on his car and recreation.

While Mrs. B. hesitated over a question concerning the family's contributions to the church, the 17-year-old daughter volunteered the information that the priest assessed their contribution at \$50 a year.

Mr. and Mrs. B. knew nothing of any formal groups in the community, partly because of their isolation and partly because of their full-time preoccupation with making a living for their large family.

Mr. B. maintained that a lot of people in the district were receiving welfare assistance or pensions of some kind, but he did not know how these were administered, nor did he have any comment to offer on the police or health services.

Mr. B. expressed considerable resentment that his children could not ride the school bus and consequently missed a good deal of school in the winter. Only children who lived four miles or more from town could ride the school bus.

The B. family are managing to survive, but show little ability to adapt to changing conditions, such as the possible loss of the CNR job. They are entrenched in their small house, and cannot consider taking such initiatives as moving or trying to find different employment. The large family and small income make daily life a grinding experience, and a small financial setback could be disastrous for them.

FAMILY C

The C.'s own a half-section of land that is partly under cultivation. They raise oats, barley and flax, and have a herd of 15 dairy and beef cattle. The income from the farm barely manages to meet living costs.

Mr. C. explained that some of his land was still uncultivated because of the brush. He hoped to accumulate a little extra money in order to hire someone to help clear some of this land. He saw some mistakes in his farming over the past few years. If he had it to do over again he would have concentrated more on forage crops and beef cattle, as these would have been more productive than the grain crops he tried to raise. He pointed out that much of his land was peatland and, therefore, quite vulnerable in bad weather. Last year, a late spring, early fall frost and inadequate summer rainfall made for a poor crop. This was not much different from the picture of past years. He had not been able to accumulate any extra cash; any money he had earned over living costs had gone into farm machinery as a way of improving his financial picture.

Mr. C. was unenthusiastic about his farming, but said that he did not have any other skill and, therefore, must remain on the farm. He hoped that his two sons would learn some other occupation so that they could have a chance to live a different kind of life.

Mr. C. saw the area as a friendly community. There were dances

and picnics on holidays, but the farm work tended to keep him and his wife at home most of the time. Neither of them were the kind who joined organizations or sought much social contact. Mr. C. was a very withdrawn person and did not express himself very freely. The family's only participation in any organized activity seemed to be the membership of the sons in 4-H.

They said that they were satisfied with the school system, except that they were somewhat isolated. The father drove the children three miles to school on the cold days. He felt that this was a problem of living on a back road.

They considered that medical services in the area were adequate, and had used the general hospital, 10 miles away, several times over the past few years.

Mr. C. felt that conditions in the municipality had improved over the past few years. A wider distribution of available funds was being made and the road system was being improved and maintained in a better fashion. He seemed to endure passively whatever situation existed. He could think of no criticism to make of provincial or federal government policies affecting the farmer.

Although the C.'s saw themselves as a low-income family, they were getting by in at least a marginal way. The farm buildings were in fair repair and Mr. C. seemed to have a reasonable insight into the

problems of farming there.

Mr. C. and his wife were a little better educated than the average farm parents in the area, having finished Grades 8 and 10 respectively. They were essentially very quiet, and did not seem to have much anxiety about their situation. With that family background, it was quite possible that the two sons might continue in the same way of life in this isolated area. There did not seem to be any change imminent in either the family's income picture or any other aspects of their life.

#### FAMILY D

Mr. and Mrs. D. felt that they were doomed to struggle unsuccessfully on the farm because their lack of education prevented them from supplementing their income. They regarded themselves first as farmers, however poor their farm was, and considered alternative employment as merely supplementary. Their income was insufficient, and they thought their neighbors' incomes from farming were about the same. However, the neighboring men, according to Mr. D., worked part-time or full-time at the RCAF Station while the women ran the farms, and, therefore, those families were generally better off.

The soil was poor. They grew mixed grain, mostly for feed for feed for their 13 milk cows. Last year, nearly all of their grain was swamped out and they had to buy feed.

Mr. D. had applied for a laboring job, but did not get it. He and his wife were apathetic about his prospects for obtaining a job. They suspected that their marginal income and way of life would continue, and refused to contemplate any small setback which would render them unable to eke out a living.

The D.'s attended the occasional church social, which was their only recreation. There were good feelings among the neighbors, she said. They wouldn't move, because "people like to stay in their homes, don't they?"

The D.'s had no information on any formal groups and did not attend church. They knew there was an agricultural representative in the district but had never made an effort to contact him, in spite of knowing that they produced poor crops. They also knew of the local welfare officer and the R. C. M. P., but had had no contact with either.

The D.'s did not know what their municipal councillor's responsibilities were, except to make sure there was snowplow equipment operating in the winter, and some kind of drainage control to prevent crops from getting swamped.

The D. family were depressed, did not appear to be very intelligent and were incapable of engaging in foresight or long-term planning. Mrs. D. did not think things would improve for them, and they seemed unable to exercise the initiative which she noted in her neighbors.

FAMILY E

This family was attempting mixed farming on land that, according to Mrs. E., was very poor. She was a bright and articulate woman who was very discouraged with their attempt to raise cattle in that part of the country. She said the land was hardpan, rocky, and produced rough hay that her parents in southern Manitoba would have thrown away. She and her husband would like to be better farmers and grow better feed for their animals. She wished they could afford fertilizer, cultivate the soil, control weeds and clear the land of rocks. She claimed that they were scrimping along and that their poor finances prevented change.

They managed in the summer with the increased income their cream cheques gave them. She said that she should budget better, but never seemed able to manage money properly. The low price of cattle restricted their income, and the high cost of hay and feed was keeping them broke. Last summer had been a poor, dry growing year for hay, and the late spring this year was making it more difficult. Frost had killed fruit blossoms and gardens last spring.

She felt it was hard to make a living in the Interlake area -- harder than in any other part of Manitoba. Some of their land was low and got flooded each spring. The weather affected their income more than anything else.

Her husband supplemented the farm income by hauling hay for neighbors (\$6 a load) and digging graves.

Mrs. E. wanted her children to get a good education, and was concerned that due to the lack of power equipment on the farm, they must help with the chores, as that took time away from studies. Asked if they had ever considered moving, she said, "No, we owe money to the bank and can't move."

Mrs. E. had a sister in the area but saw her very occasionally. There were church socials, and they used to attend these but had stopped -- she did not give any reasons. They had not had holidays in their 11 years of marriage. She would like to get away to the city for a change. They went to the city once for the Ice-capades, but had had to drive back the same night because of the children. She said the neighbors had been helpful with the chores when her husband was sick with the measles. She was quite sad when talking about relatives and neighbors, and seemed to realize how withdrawn the family was becoming.

There was a Home and School meeting two or three times yearly, and Mrs. E. went to see how the children were getting along. She felt that the one-room elementary school was adequate, but that the better teachers went to the city, where they could receive a better salary. She felt her children should receive as good an education as those in the city, assuming that some would move to the city.

Mrs. E. knew of government agricultural courses in the district, and had heard they were good, but she and her husband never attended. She was very cross with the government as one-quarter of their hay land was flooded out last year and they never received compensation for it as their neighbors did. The 4-H held food and sewing courses that she had meant to attend, but didn't.

Some of her neighbors were on welfare. She believed there was an administrator appointed by the town council, but was not sure. She thought it was good to have a hospital four miles away but questioned the reason for the local doctor living 10 miles down the highway. She said he spent half his time travelling back and forth.

Mrs. E. felt that they were not receiving any information or assistance from the government. When farm loans were mentioned, she stated, "The bank gave us the loan, not the government."

Mismanagement pretty well explained their situation. Their housing conditions were very inadequate. There were four rooms with broken windows, filth and grease in the kitchen, and half-clothed children. Mrs. E. apologized for the mess and the cold (she was out of wood) and said that she preferred to work outside or in the barn. She said the doctor gave her some iron pills and vitamins to supplement the children's diet. The children looked as if they needed them.

The E.'s did not appear to be able to help themselves, though in

their own way they were trying very hard. Mrs. E. needed help and instruction on home care and child-raising.

Mrs. E. said both she and her husband came from farming families, but they did not appear to be using any of the experience they may previously have had. They had a very disorganized farm life, and were aware of government information programs but were not taking advantage of them. Mrs. E. said that they did not have any method of bookkeeping and did not know what their monthly expenses were.

#### FAMILY F

Mrs. F. pointed out that the family's lack of education and training and their physical isolation made it impossible to do any work on a regular basis. She expressed gratitude for the privilege of driving 200 miles in the summer to hoe sugar beets for four to six weeks. She considered it a fringe benefit that she was able to take her children into the fields with her and put the babies on the ground. She had her last baby after work one summer day; it was born on the way back from the field, and fortunately she did not miss a day's work.

She thought their income was sufficient because no one starved to death, although she did not know how they were going to pay their grocery bill.

She thought the isolation of the reserve and the poor land around

affected their income. Also, the Indian agent affected their income by the inconsistent amounts of money given to the family. He gave them \$97 for April and only \$68 in March. Mrs. F. felt that it was inappropriate to question the "government" when it was an unearned gift, and she was lucky to receive anything.

On the question of improving matters herself, Mrs. F. said promptly that a co-operative garden on the reserve would help everyone. She knew there was a tractor supplied by the government to the band, and that it was broken. If the tractor could be repaired, it could be used to plow the garden, and she knew of a good field to start cultivating. As there were over 300 people on the reserve, Mrs. F. felt that labor shared among them all could produce a remarkable garden, and provide them with a quantity of food which could be preserved for winter use, too.

The two drawbacks to the plan, she felt, were (1) inadequate space for storing and preserving food, since the shacks were so cold in winter that food froze or decomposed if not eaten right away, and (2) jealousy among the neighbors; a majority were lazy and would not do their fair share. The chief was a good man, who did the best he could for his people, but could not drive them to help themselves in a communal effort like that.

Her husband was away trying to trap, but game was very scarce this year and he caught scarcely any muskrats.

Mrs. F. said there was nothing to do on the reserve for fun, nor

was there much time for her to relax anyway, although the other women might have time. There were no activities for the children, even at school, unless one considered praying to be fun. There were no organized sports and no community get-togethers.

She said the people next door were the only neighbors she had anything to do with. They were hardworking, helpful and smart.

She was a Catholic but did not attend church. There were no other formal groups on the reserve, but she figured the town 20 miles away "has some of them things if you want them".

When Mrs. F.'s grandson, aged seven months, was ill with double pneumonia, he had a temperature of 106 degrees. A doctor rushed him to the hospital and saved his life. He was in an oxygen tent for three days. Mrs. F. said the doctor was shocked at the freezing conditions of the shack; the frost on the interior wallboard, the frozen food, water and milk, and inadequate clothing for the baby and the other children. He wrote on a slip of paper that the government had to put insulation in the walls, said Mrs. F., but when she gave the paper to the agent, "he lost it." She did not like to cause trouble with him because, "after all, he does give us a little money and he doesn't even have to do that."

"The doctor is a wonderful man," she said. "He comes to the reserve even late at night, and tries so hard to save lives and help people. He is always kind and doesn't get mad at us."

Mrs. F. knew the reserve was policed by R. C. M. P. and guessed that they did a good job.

Elections were held every three years, she said, for the chief and councillors. They should be elected on the basis of their interest in helping the people on the reserve. The chief, she repeated, was a very good, hard working man. "It's not his fault that he can't get any material for us," by which she meant building materials, insulation, lumber, etc. The chief was the man who negotiated for public assistance payments.

The reserve road was a running gutter of mud and slush without provision for run-off. The small hovel where the F.'s lived, on lower ground about 50 feet from the road, stood in a two-inch pool of slime, black gumbo, wood shavings and cow dung. The door sill was raised about four inches above the wash. There was a stench of urine and filth.

The tiny kitchen was equipped with a small wooden table, washing machine, small cook-stove, cupboard and two log stumps for the family of nine. A chamberpot, half-filled, stood near the stove. The rough plank floor was encrusted with dried dirt. The other room had two sagging double beds, with dirty covers, and a foul-smelling chesterfield which had lost its upholstery and springs. The 18-month-old child was asleep on the chesterfield. This child, she said, was crippled with arthritis in both hands and feet from the cold temperature of the house. The seven-month-old girl was drinking from her bottle and rolling around in her own filth on

one bed. The 3-1/2-year-old girl was running around in bare feet, with a small pair of cotton underpants and a T-shirt. Only the seven-year-old boy was adequately dressed. Mrs. F. said she exerted every effort to make sure he was decently dressed for going to school. She did not know how she would manage when they were all in school. She expressed great pride in her son's achievement at school. At seven years of age he was in Grade 2 and the Sisters said he would be in Grade 3 before he was eight.

Mrs. F.'s living conditions were a thousand years removed from urban middle-class life. Her exceptional courtesy, however, was extended both to strangers and her children. When the baby needed changing, she let it cry for a moment but exhibited considerable anxiety. She was affectionate to the children, cuddled them frequently, and cuffed them slightly for being noisy during the interview. She expressed revulsion and incomprehension of her daughter's act of deserting her baby.

Mrs. F. Spoke of her three children who had burned to death, but did not dwell on the subject. She observed that she was busy now with so many needs of the present children.

Mrs. F., in general, is a courageous, spirited and resilient person. She is undefeated by the hardships of her life, expects nothing, and laughs easily.

FAMILY G

Mr. G. found little satisfaction in his means of earning a living. He owned a half-section of land, on which he raised cattle, and ran a small store. Due to sickness in his cattle a few years ago and the current low prices, he was not able to make a living from the farm. The store provided the family with approximately \$20 a month in addition to food. A franchise paid him \$60 a month. His wife died suddenly not long ago, leaving him with four children. He had all the work to do and was hampered by a crippled arm.

Mr. G. saw no possibility of moving or changing his situation, or of improving his farm income unless cattle prices rose a great deal. He stated that cattle farmers had no protection because there were no price supports for cattle, and as a result, the economy of the whole district was depressed. That meant a loss of income for the store. The only opportunity for improvement that he could see would be to remarry. This would provide him with an extra pair of hands to run the store and the house, and also give him companionship, and someone to share the responsibility of raising the family. He did not expect the two eldest girls to come back to live at home when they finished school.

Mr. G. felt there was not a good feeling amongst the neighbors because of the depressed economic conditions, and the community was not

homogeneous. He had no time for visiting, as all his time was taken up with his work and the children. There were no community organizations.

Mr. G. did not believe that government farm policies were of much help. He said the government gave no help or training for improving one's income. However, cream subsidies helped the cattle farmer.

He knew of only one family receiving welfare, and believed the standards of service depended on the particular social worker. He said the only good health care was for those who could pay for it. He showed the interviewer a broken finger that a doctor had set improperly, and which could not be repaired.

Mr. G. had sent his two oldest girls to school 20 miles away, in order to take a commercial course which was not offered in the local community. Grants were made to families to cover this additional expense.

He believed an education was important and it should prepare a student to earn a living.

#### FAMILY H

Mr. and Mrs. H. have been working their farm for the past 20 years. They have both worked very hard to exist in this poor farming area. Mr. H. worked on the tractor and Mrs. H. with a team of horses - clearing. Mrs. H. picked stones along with her husband. They had 30 head of cattle, 12 of which were milk cows. They were in mixed farming,

but the land did not produce good grain. The children milked the cows before school each morning.

Mrs. H. was having difficulty with her hands. She believed she must have arthritis as they were very stiff in the morning.

They would have liked to get a farm improvement loan, but Mr. H. was too old, the youngest son was too young to co-sign, and a son in the city said he would never be a farmer.

The H.'s were slowly paying off a bank loan that they got to build their new house three years ago. Mrs. H. said their credit was good at the bank. They were forced to build a new house when the old log cabin leaked everytime it rained. They liked farming and were enjoying life in their new home. They had no wish to move away or change. They were taking advantage of the services and advice available through the government, and felt that they were managing fairly well under difficult circumstances.

Mr. and Mrs. H. were friendly and sociable. Their children come home every weekend to see them. They visited neighbors and attended social functions, but could not afford bingo. They were happy in their community.

Mrs. H. attended the Home and School meetings held about twice yearly, and thought they were good for parents. The children liked the schools. Mr. and Mrs. H. felt that the school board were doing a good

job. There was a rifle club included in this school's program and the boys enjoyed it.

The H.'s were in regular contact with the agricultural representative. He had advised them on placing vitamin A in the cattle's drinking water, and on pest control and the use of DDT. There were regular meetings with the agriculture representative and they were well attended. Mrs. H. used to attend the Women's Institute and planned on rejoining; they used to prepare hampers for welfare families. She said a few neighbors were on welfare and received help from the municipality. She felt there were too many young, healthy people on welfare and they should be made to work.

The daughter had belonged to a 4-H club, but now did not have time for the projects. The eldest son was living in Winnipeg. He had his Grade XI and was working as a bookkeeper. He planned on getting a government loan in the fall to take a bookkeeping course.

The children were checked regularly by doctor and nurse at the school, and there was also a yearly dental check-up at the school. Mrs. H. felt that it was a good thing to have hospitalization. They liked the local doctor, but found office visits and drugs expensive.

They were a very hard-working family and had managed to make a living for themselves out of what they called "a very poor farming area". They settled on this farm 22 years ago, as it was cheap land and the only place they could afford to buy.

They felt their own limited education had handicapped them "even for farming". Mrs. H. was worried about her hands and found it impossible to milk. She did not know what they would do if both the children now at home left for the city. She was encouraging them to finish their education. The children wanted to leave school and get out and earn their own money.

#### FAMILY I

Mr. I. felt that because of lack of education, and because he was brought up on fishing, he preferred that way of making a livelihood. The difficulty was that he could not earn enough. He would accept a job if it meant a steadier income, but the family would not be interested in changing their place of living. He felt that he and his neighbors were in the same boat. The fish companies seemed to control the fishing business and no one could get ahead. Everyone was in debt to the companies. There seemed to be no way to improve things.

There was not much activity in the community. The church missionary encouraged some functions, but not many were interested in church. There was a ladies' auxiliary and a youth group that provided some entertainment. There was a community hall, but not enough cooperation to use it to everyone's advantage. Neighbors got along well, but tended to form family groups. The family would find it hard to move away

because it was home.

The I.'s attended church activities fairly regularly. Mrs. I. took part in ladies' groups. She thought more should be done for the home and school relationship. The I.'s were not members of the local co-op for pulp cutting, but had been cutting wood with them. They had no welfare or health organization there. There was a local school committee, but none of the family had been a member. They were satisfied with the schools and guessed they were all the children needed. They believed that the few committees were good because they helped the community spirit a little, but the I.'s said, "we need more leadership and someone to help us."

There seemed to be discrimination in fishing regulations, according to the I.'s. The licenses were too costly, especially if they had to get an extra one for someone to help for a few days. Maybe it would be better if they could all get some training that would help them, in fishing or other work there.

Not many got welfare; about four families. If they needed it, it was good for them and no one seemed to mind. Local welfare was taken care of by special welfare people from Winnipeg. The I.'s didn't see much of them.

They said they did not get enough health care and wished they could see a nurse more often. It cost too much to take their families for check-ups, to see the dentist and the like. They were all too poor to pay for

those things, and went to see a doctor only if they were really sick.

"Maybe our community compares with others in some areas," the I's said. "We don't have many things they have in the city, but we don't mind; we wouldn't want to live there." They would move only if Mr. I. could have a better paying, steadier job, but they had never really planned on it.

#### FAMILY J

Mr. J. had never held a steady job. He was unemployed every winter. In the summer he had been able to work (until last summer) as a laborer on a large ranch 10 miles down the road. In 1964 he was too sick to work and had a gall-bladder operation in the fall. He had not felt well since, with aches in his arms and legs. Before the operation, this family was continually on and off municipal welfare, receiving \$10 per week. Mrs. J. said the family had a tough time getting along on that amount of money.

When her husband had the operation, the family was taken on public welfare and now received \$190 per month. They thought they were getting along pretty well, in fact, "we have never had it so good," Mrs. J. commented. Her only wish, besides better health for her husband, was to move to the city where she hoped she might find a bigger house and her husband could receive regular medical attention. She said his lack of education

would always limit him to a laborer's job. The children wished to move to the city, as they were bored in the country and said there was nothing to do. Mrs. J. felt that she was worse off than most of her neighbors.

Mrs. J. said that she had only one relative in the area, who lived quite far away but occasionally came and took her to church. She said sadly that her six older children never came home to visit, and that she and Mr. J. never went out together, never saw their neighbors, and because of lack of transportation, lived a very lonely life. Their log shack was at least a mile from any neighbors. The neighbors brought them water in the summer, but only if Mr. J. was sick. When he was driven to the doctor, 20 miles away, the round trip cost \$3.

The children told their mother that there were Home and School meetings two or three times yearly. Mrs. J. did not attend, as she was unable to get a ride. There was a hockey schedule at the community centre (rink and shack) but nothing for girls and younger children. There were no R. C. church social activities.

Mrs. J. felt that the schooling the children were receiving was very good, as they were being taught both English and French and seemed to have very good teachers. A school bus took one daughter to high school, but three children in the elementary school had to walk the same distance.

According to Mrs. J., "The local welfare officer shows favoritism and you have to beg him for money. He never comes to the home to see

how you are living, and it does not matter if you have one kid or you have got ten kids, you get \$10 a week." She spoke well of the city welfare worker and appeared to get along well with her.

The distance of 20 miles for medical care was too far, according to Mrs. J. She would also like a Public Health Nurse to call at the home and check the children who were not in school. The children received medical check-ups at school. She said the family could not have managed without "Medicare" for her husband's illness, and a welfare payment for a congenital throat condition of the youngest child. The Mounties came every week or so to see that the family was all right.

This family lived in a two-room, log and mud shack. There was no glass in the windows upstairs, only cardboard, and that was where most of the children slept. There were no toilet facilities at all. Mrs. J. did not appear to be getting any help from her husband with the children or family problems. He was suggested for interviewing as he was an alcoholic, and by the appearance of the children's clothes, lack of food in the cupboards, etc., it looked as if he were continuing to drink most of the welfare money. A four-year-old child hid under the bed during the interview. Mrs. J. said he was very shy and would not speak to anyone outside the family.

Mrs. J.'s only wish for improving their circumstances was to get a bigger house, and she believed that going to Winnipeg would accomplish this.

FAMILY K

The K.'s were registered Indians living on the reservation. Mr. K. was very dissatisfied with his attempt at cattle farming. He had 13 head of beef cattle, bought with a five-year loan that he was attempting to pay back. But beef prices being low, he was having difficulty; in three years he had repaid \$600 out of \$1,600. He had tried to improve their finances by doing part-time labor off the reservation, but had had difficulty in locating jobs.

The chief and some of the men on the reservation opened a private beach and resort last year. Mr. K. was responsible for the gate and the concession stand. There was no profit last summer, but they were hoping to show some profit on the next summer.

Mr. K. did not feel that he could improve the situation unless he received a further loan and got his herd of cattle up to 25 head. Then he would be able to manage. He believed that the farmers off the reservation were better off as they could get bigger government loans.

Most of Mr. and Mrs. K.'s relatives lived on the reservation and they visited back and forth for social activity. When they could, they went to town for bingo. The neighbors helped one another, but they were all struggling. There were no reservation activities for the women. The chief organized a baseball team in the summer for the men.

There was a Roman Catholic school on the reservation, but no social activities connected with the Church, and no Home and School program. Their young son was in Grade I, and his report was not bad. Mr. K. said that if the boy did not pass, he would raise a fuss with the Sisters as he felt they were teaching too much religion at the school. He also said, "Not too many of the kids make it to high school."

Mr. K. said that 90 per cent of the reservation residents were on welfare distributed by the agent. The welfare Mr. K. received varied from month to month, but he could supplement it with approximately \$30 a month profit from the farm. They did not receive any assistance or advice from agricultural representatives.

The reservation council and chief were elected every year. They had monthly meetings which Mr. K. attended. He felt there was nothing wrong with this method of local government.

There was adequate health care. The doctor came every Thursday to see the children and those needing medical help. This was paid for by the government.

The 1-1/2-room, insulboard shack that the K.'s lived in was new five years ago. It had no foundation and very little insulation, and was very hard to keep warm during the winter. The family did not have electricity. Mr. K. had moved the house from a low-lying area across the road to its present site because of flooding every spring, and did not yet

have the electrical system hooked up.

The K.'s had three small children. They were caring for a nephew who did not have a father. Mrs. K. was expecting another baby in June. The children were clean and well cared for. The house was neat, though cool. Mr. K. showed a genuine concern for the dilemma he was facing in providing for a growing family. He said he was trying very hard, but was discouraged. The land on the reservation was poor and the possibilities for increasing his income looked very bleak.

Mr. K. wanted to be a farmer. The only reason they would consider for moving away would be to farm under better circumstances.

#### FAMILY L

This family lived on a quarter-section of land and ran a mixed dairy and beef herd of 54 cattle. They also owned an 80-acre piece of land one mile away, which they used for mixed grains.

This farm had produced a relatively low income because of the low price of cattle, Mr. L. said. Also, the bad weather of the past few years had been a factor in producing poor grain crops, which made it a life of just barely getting along. If he had more money, he would buy more land because he had too many cattle for the land and feeding them was a problem. He did not see that circumstances would change very much for the family, but hoped for good weather and good cattle prices as a way of

trying to keep even.

The chores of looking after that many cattle and the rest of the farming tended to keep the mother and father at home most of the time. They did go out for social occasions once in a while, and described it as a friendly community. They also took part in some church activities. As for the children, they were involved in school activities and spent some time with neighboring children. However, because they had a very large family, they tended to spend a good deal of the time on the farm, and the older children had to look after the numerous younger ones.

Mr. L. seemed to be the prototype of the good-natured accepting farmer who could see no way to criticize any of the institutions with which he came in contact, other than medical services. Those, he felt, like the other farmers interviewed, were impersonal and difficult to obtain from one doctor, so they had had to go to another.

Mr. L. could think of nothing wrong with other institutions, such as schools, rural municipality, provincial government and federal government. It appeared to him that everyone was getting along after a fashion, and that no one was really poverty-stricken. On the other hand, no one was really making very much money.

This large family of 10 existed on a relatively low income of approximately \$200 per month, but it may have been a little higher than Mr. L. estimated. The general appearance of the farm was good and the amenities

were a lot more plentiful than on many of the other farms. It was one of the few farms with electric cooking, an indoor bathtub, indoor chemical toilet and television set. Either the family was doing a better job of managing than some of the other farmers, or their standards were a little higher, or Mr. L. was being cautious about his farm income.

Mr. L. had lived in Winnipeg for at least one summer while he worked there, and apparently it had confirmed his feeling that country living was better. Both husband and wife said that they preferred farm life and they would see about the children's future later. If the children wanted to move to the city, it was possible that some of them might do so. The L.'s seemed to be saying that the children would move, and would naturally prefer farm life as their parents did. A solution would come from somewhere, even if it involved many of these children staying on the farm.

The family did not seem to consider themselves poor, and indeed did not appear as poor as many of the other families. They represented a combination of good management of limited resources along with a generally positive attitude about rural living. This combination seemed to make it possible for them to continue the traditional life of a large, farm-centered family which was relatively self-sufficient and had a limited amount of contact with the outside world.

This family might be helped to make more money from its farm

through the government agricultural representative. But, like many other families in this area, they had apparently little or no use for agricultural representatives.

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